

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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**TERMS**—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States and Canada. Elsewhere \$5.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions

**THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CORPORATION, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York**

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**OUTDOOR PASTIMES OF A SPORT-LOVING PEOPLE, AT THE  
NATION'S TWO GREAT WINTER RESORTS**

(Winter sports of the colder regions in the Northern States are discussed on pages 197 and 198 of this number)



# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXXIII.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY, 1926

No. 2

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

### *Tax Reform and Public Opinion*

It is easier to appeal to the court of public opinion than to secure and enforce the verdicts of that court. Even when such verdicts are clear and unmistakable, it is often difficult to give them effect as against the machinery of government and of organized society that blocks the way. To illustrate by a concrete example, it may suffice to refer to the pending bill for the reduction of federal taxation. Never at any time since the stormy disputes of the Jacksonian period had questions of taxation and public finance been so notably delivered from subjection to partisanship as when the Sixty-ninth Congress convened for business on the first Monday in December. The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives had prepared an elaborate bill for revision of the tax system. The members of that committee, instead of using the period between sessions for their own private affairs, had worked faithfully to have a tax bill ready in order to save time and trouble after the session had begun. The measure had clearly won overwhelming public approval before it was presented for enactment as law.

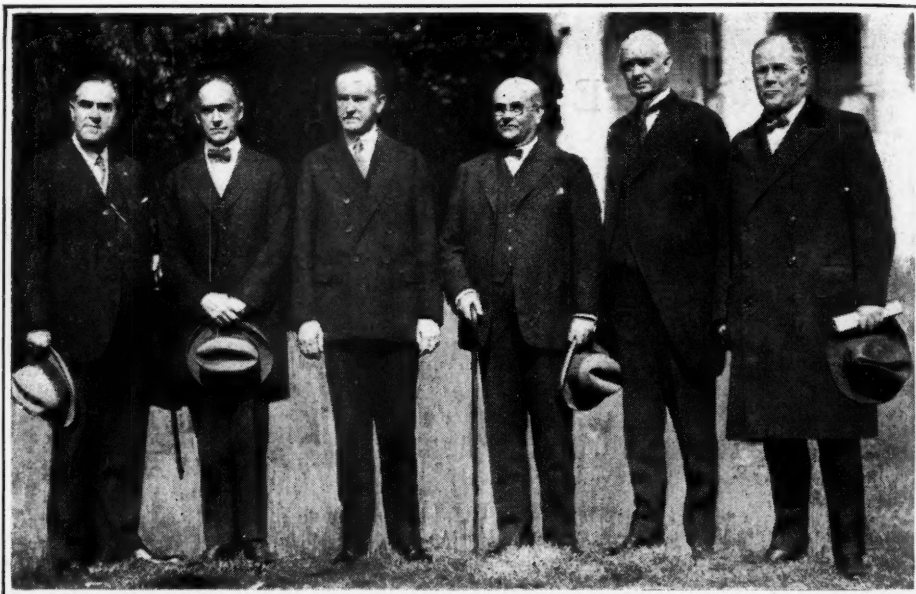
### *Taking Taxation Out of Politics*

The Republican majority of the committee under chairman Green had not followed the precedent set by former majorities, in first writing their bill and then showing it to the minority members after the work was finished. On the contrary, the whole committee worked together, regardless of party lines. Mr. Garner, who is ranking Democratic member, was almost as influential in evolving the bill as Mr. Green, the chairman. The Treasury Department, with its non-partisan group of financial experts,

headed by Secretary Mellon, himself a financial authority of the highest rank, worked constantly with the Ways and Means Committee in all this preliminary task of preparing the measure. For a number of weeks through the autumn, the committee held public hearings. It secured the views of distinguished economists and taxation authorities like Professor Seligman and Professor Adams, and the opinions of organized bodies like the American Federation of Labor, the National Manufacturers Association, the National Chamber of Commerce, and so on. As is necessary in such matters, everybody made some concessions. Mr. Green did not have his way precisely; nor did Mr. Garner; while the Treasury experts gained no sweeping victories for their own opinions. But all of the authorities agreed that the bill as finally shaped was much better than the existing law, and that it represented a consensus of opinion based upon reasonable compromises that could well be adopted.

### *The House Shows Fine Spirit*

Every intelligent person knows that complicated revenue measures cannot be wisely framed in mass meetings, nor in response to political oratory. The House bill, as presented by a harmonious Ways and Means Committee, and accepted by the President and Secretary Mellon, had consulted public opinion by such sound methods that it gave a telling reply to those who have been saying that popular government is inefficient in dealing with such difficult problems as those of taxation. The Ways and Means Committee, having introduced the bill at once, gave a reasonable time for debate and fixed Friday, December 18, as the day for the final vote. Business moved on precise



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**STATE EXECUTIVES WHO WERE CONSULTED ABOUT THE NEW TAX BILL BY THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE**

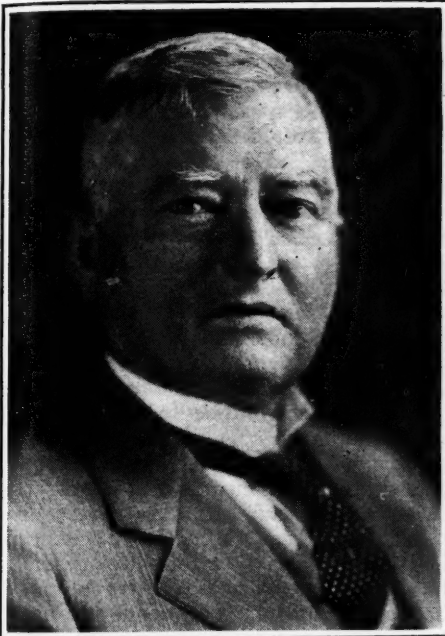
(It was last fall, and not last month, that the best opinion of the whole country was drawn upon by the committee under Chairman Green to help in shaping the tax bill. The group above shows four Governors and a Lieutenant-Governor with President Coolidge. These were among the men who came to Washington to talk about inheritance taxes and other parts of the bill that concerned their States. From left to right are: Governor Trinkle of Virginia, Governor Walker of Georgia, Governor McLeod of South Carolina, Governor Peay of Tennessee, and Lieutenant-Governor Nolan of Minnesota)

schedule. Members who for one particular reason or another desired some changes in the bill, were given full opportunity to offer amendments and to submit their suggestions to vote. Debating was spirited and adequate. If discussion had lasted six weeks longer, the House of Representatives would not have been any better prepared to act. Every important feature of the bill was subjected to scrutiny, and was submitted to test votes before final action was taken.

*Approved  
by Both  
Parties*

The record shows that, upon its passage, this tax bill of 1925 was supported by 390 votes and opposed by only 25. The opposition was made up of eleven Republicans, ten Democrats, and four Independents. It may be well to remind our readers that the present House contains 247 Republicans, 183 Democrats, 3 Farmer-Laborites, and 2 Socialists. It will also be remembered that a partisan situation made the tax law of 1924 very different in the end from the "Mellon Plan" upon which the Republicans of the Ways and Means Committee were in partial agreement. Considering the vast

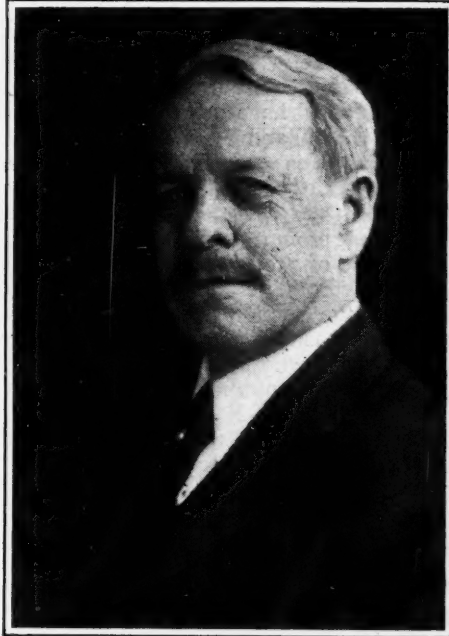
sums of money that federal tax laws involve, and the bearing of various changes upon large classes of citizens, it is a remarkable thing that this new bill of 1925 should have passed the House by a vote which included the entire membership of both great parties, except for a handful of extremists. The intention of the present bill is to reduce revenue to the extent of about \$325,000,000. The highest surtaxes are scaled down from 40 per cent. to 20 per cent. This benefit accrues to incomes above \$500,000. The rates of normal taxes are somewhat reduced; earned incomes are better recognized; surtaxes begin to apply upon net income in excess of \$10,000, the amount of surtax progressing from 1 per cent. through twenty even steps to a maximum of 20 per cent., this highest rate applying to all income in excess of \$100,000. Various special taxes are abolished; such, for example, as those on photographic materials, or firearms, on slot machines, on jewelry and works of art, on certain legal papers, and so on. The automobile tax is retained, but at a reduced rate. The estate taxes run from 1 per cent. to 20 per cent., instead of the present 40



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**HON. JOHN NANCE GARNER, OF TEXAS**

(Ranking Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee)



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**HON. WM. R. GREEN, OF IOWA**

Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee

per cent. on the largest estates. The publicity feature of the present tax law is abolished. The gift tax, which is unsound in principle and difficult of enforcement, is also repealed. Such are some of the general features of a bill that still reflects in its major aspects the harsh and discriminatory exactions of war-time emergency, but which is at least a decided improvement upon the existing law.

*Attitude  
of the  
Senate*

It is well known that the Senate is far less responsive to public opinion than the House. Individual Senators take themselves seriously with regard to all important questions of legislation. They are not ready to assume that any measure can come to them from the House of Representatives in such form as to merit the compliment of ready acceptance and prompt endorsement. In this particular case, Senators were urged on all hands to please the country by recognizing an exceptional situation. The House bill represented the collective wisdom of both great parties, of the Administration, and of all our principal business and economic interests. No great financial measure had ever, in the experience of any living Senator (apart from some emergency war-

time bills), been offered with such overwhelming endorsement. Senator Glass of Virginia, an eminent financial authority, who was Secretary of the Treasury for a time in the second Wilson Administration, urged upon his Democratic colleagues the view that this tax bill, when it came from the House, ought to be taken up without being referred to the Senate's Finance Committee, with a view to its passage after a suitable number of days for debate. This was wise advice in the face of unusual conditions. Other leading Democratic Senators were of the same opinion.

*A Body that  
Almost Never  
Keeps Step!*

But Senator Simmons of North Carolina, who is the ranking Democratic member of the committee (of which the Republican Senator Smoot, of Utah, is chairman), disagreed with Mr. Glass and insisted upon having the bill referred to the Senate Committee in order that he might have opportunity to bring in a bill of his own. Like his colleague Smoot, Senator Simmons has had great experience in the details of tax bills and tariff bills, and naturally he prefers his own judgment to that of anybody else. But the country has desired prompt action

this season, and is quite convinced that the House bill as it stood was the best that could be done, all things considered. If the Senate had chosen the course recommended by Mr. Glass, it would have proceeded at once to take up the bill and deal with it section by section, allowing the individual members of the Finance Committee to introduce as many amendments as they liked for immediate debate and prompt decision. In this way, every part of the bill would have passed under the scrutiny of the Senate, and would have run the gauntlet of an ample amount of verbiage. Moreover, it would have been possible to reach a final vote by the end of January, with opportunity for two weeks of conference between House and Senate, and with agreement upon the conference report by the middle of February.

*Senators  
versus  
the Country*

It is for the Senate itself to consider whether its character as an obstructive body is to become an acute public issue, exactly as the obstructive character of the House of Lords became an issue of major importance in Great Britain, with the result in Westminster that the upper house was deprived of its ultimate veto power. The House of Lords contains a considerable number of men of experience and ability, whose judgment is always worth having. But it was in no true sense representative of the country; and it had a way of asserting its own traditions and prejudices as against the clear weight of a mature public opinion. Under our Constitution, the Senate has an important part with the Executive in shaping the foreign relationships of the country, although it is plain that the Constitution makers never intended any such assertion of prerogatives as the Senate has begun to assume in regard to foreign affairs. An individual Senator, by accident of seniority, comes into the chairmanship of a Senate committee; and all of his vagaries of personal opinion must suddenly be regarded as having the most serious bearing upon public policy in every direction. There has been an astonishing expansion of the notion that the chairman of a committee is entitled to more influence, or more indulgence as to his views, than any other member of the committee, or for that matter any other member of the parliamentary chamber in which he sits. There is almost absurd deference paid to the personal whim or prejudice of individual Senators.

*It Should Rule  
Its Own  
House*

Such prerogatives as the Senate may claim as its own by virtue of the organic law are asserted with the utmost tenacity and always with a tendency to exaggeration. The House, on the other hand, which is the truly representative body—and generally speaking the more competent and efficient half of the law-making branch of the Government—shows little tendency to assert itself unduly. The plain intention of the Constitution is, that the House is to shape revenue measures, the Senate acting with judgment and counsel in a revisory capacity, but not with equal authority or with bold initiative. The Senate claims a share in the treaty-making business of the Executive, and in that of appointments to foreign posts, judgeships, and executive offices (in no part of which business the House participates). As a result of experience, we might raise the question, as was done in England, whether it would not be desirable to reduce the authority of the upper chamber in the treatment of revenue and budgetary matters. Nothing of this kind is likely to be attempted seriously in the United States for a good while to come. There are times, indeed, when the Senate's tendency to obstruct and retard may seem, in the retrospect, to have proved a wise check against immature and rash decisions. But the Senate should learn how to discriminate. It should repress the arrogance of opinionated chairmen of committees who come into their posts through the mechanical principle of seniority rather than through recognized fitness for leadership. The House of Representatives is under rules that make it possible to do business with reasonable promptness, while there is no such thing as a tyranny of the organized majority in repressing smaller groups. The Senate should find a way to rule in its own chamber, as against the individual Senator who is a law unto himself.

*The British  
Contrast*

With the usual British genius for practical compromises, the House of Lords was not deprived of its power to review and recommend. But its judgment had no longer the stamp of finality. Where the country, through the House of Commons, was clearly and strongly convinced about something, the House of Lords ceased to be obstructive. Thus, if a tax bill such as that which has run the gauntlet of both parties in our House



of Representatives, should be passed through the House of Commons, at the instance of Prime Minister Baldwin and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the acquiescence of Messrs. MacDonald and Snowden of the Labor Party and of Mr. Lloyd George of the Liberal Party, it is not to be supposed for a moment that the eminent statesmen of the House of Lords would set out to write a tax bill of their own. They would not have the temerity to invite the country to submit itself to the inconvenience of indefinite delay, while noble Lords were adopting something that the country was not even in a mood to consider as a substitute for what it had already decided to do. This was virtually the situation at Washington. The country had decided to accept a tax bill that had been fully considered. There was no distinct element of public opinion anywhere that had encouraged the Senate to write a bill of its own.

*The Vice-President Stores Up Ammunition*

Everyone was willing to have the Senate review the House bill, to make suggestions, and to meet members of the House Committee in conference. There were enough of the Democratic Senators, agreeing with Senator Glass and with the Democratic leaders of the other House, to have joined the Republican Senators in making a very large majority. If the working rules of the Senate were different, such a majority would have asserted itself, and business would have proceeded with efficiency. Apparently, Vice-President Dawes had made no great headway in his arguments from the platform during the long recess, in favor of reforming the Senate rules. But he succeeded at least in bringing the subject to the attention of the country in such a way that Senatorial methods will come under far sharper scrutiny than heretofore. It was still hoped that tax legislation might be accomplished in time to have a bearing upon the filing of income tax statements on March 15. But in holding hearings, and in proposing changes of a really fundamental character, the Senate had been merely wasting time and illustrating the futility that too often attends the working of a bicameral scheme of law-making. We have been doing business under our constitution for a hundred and thirty-seven years, and are not likely to revolutionize the machinery; but in working details a number of improvements might well be made.

*Mr. Simmons Yields in Committee*

The foregoing remarks might seem like a lecture out of place, in view of the defeat in the Senate Finance Committee of the chief contentions of Mr. Simmons. Secretary Mellon had convinced the Ways and Means Committee and the House that we ought to continue our present debt-paying policy, and not deplete the sinking-fund for the sake of tax reduction. He was patient enough to rehearse his views again in January before the Senate Finance Committee, although he had covered the ground in the open sessions of the Ways and Means Committee last fall. It was the Treasury opinion that we could reduce taxation by about \$325,000,000, and still maintain our regular installment payments on the principal of the debt. Senator Simmons, with his supporters, proposed to reduce current taxation by \$500,000,000 and to extend debt payments over a much longer period. It turned out, however, that public opinion had somehow made its way into the meeting room of the Senate Finance Committee. Suddenly, on Saturday, January 16, the Senate Committee decided unanimously to make a non-partisan report, modifying surtaxes below \$100,000 and reducing estate taxes. These are reasonable suggestions, and well worth considering. Senators Smoot and Simmons deserve praise, even though two weeks might have been saved by a different method.

*The Debate in Full Senate*

The Senate amendments, if adopted completely, would result in perhaps a 10 per cent. larger tax cut than would result from the House bill. President Coolidge and Mr. Mellon were continuing to urge the view that it is much wiser economy to maintain the sinking-fund and make debt payments than to pay interest over greatly extended periods in order to reduce present taxation more sweepingly. The Senate now comprises fifty-six Republicans, thirty-nine Democrats, and one Farmer-Laborite (Shipstead, of Minnesota). In the Republican group are included Brookhart, of Iowa; Frazier and Nye, of North Dakota; and Robert LaFollette, Jr., of Wisconsin. Mr. Nye is an active champion of the third-party progressives. It was well known that Brookhart, Frazier, Nye and La Follette would not act with the regular Republicans in supporting Administration views upon tax legislation. But there were Democratic Senators, like Mr. Glass, who realized that the House bill was not



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**HON. CLAUDE A. SWANSON, SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA**

(The honor of introducing the World Court bill fell to Mr. Swanson—who is ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee—by reason of the fact that the Republican chairman, Mr. Borah, is opposed to the measure)

a party measure, and who might join the Republicans in forming a satisfactory majority, as against the attempt of Senators Simmons, Harrison, and others to make certain changes in the character of the bill. Meanwhile, it was fairly probable that there would be no filibuster attempted, and that the measure might be ready for the President's signature well before the 15th of March.

**Public Opinion** The country had expected the  
**Clearly Favors** House to shape a tax bill; and  
**World Court** when that bill was presented as the joint work of both parties with the cooperation of the Treasury Department, there was satisfaction. Naturally, the attempt on the part of the Senate to take up the tax question *de novo* was not regarded as statesmanship. The country had, however, thrashed out a different subject for the Senate to deal with, and upon this subject there was a consensus of public opinion that quite transcended the bounds of party or the misgivings of the hesitant. This question was that of the World Court. For a century, the people of the United States have been foremost in demanding the substitution of law for force in the settlement of disputes between nations. The plan of having a high tribunal—the Permanent International Court of Justice—was made

prominent in the Peace Conference at Paris; and at that time it had the undivided support, so far as we are aware, of everybody in the United States. The Court now exists; the subject has been fully discussed; the country supports the President and it has expected the Senate to act favorably and promptly.

**League and Court in Treaty**

For reasons that we shall not re-

count at this moment, the United States Senate refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty, which would have made this country a member of the League of Nations. At the time of the treaty, practically everybody in this country was in favor

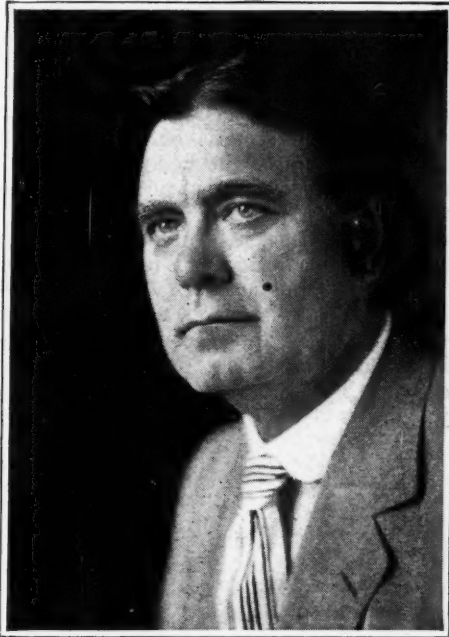
of some kind of a league of nations, and the Senate itself was virtually committed to joining such a league. The only thing that kept us out was President Wilson's uncompromising state of mind, which caused him to refuse to join in acceptance of the treaty unless the Senate should recede from its harmless memorandum of so-called "reservations." But for what we must regard as Mr. Wilson's mistaken attitude, this country would have been a member of the League of Nations from the beginning; and nothing in that memorandum of reservations would have affected in any way the influence or the activity of the United States in the League. Under those circumstances, we should of course have had our part in setting up the International Court without any question whatsoever.

**The Court as Separate Entity**

It has happened, however, that, without being a member of the League, the United States has been able to take a valuable part in international affairs since the end of the war. The question of joining the League is not before us at the present time. The two Presidents who have succeeded Wilson have shown themselves ready in all important ways to aid in promoting peace and in the political and economic reconstruction

of the world. Our secretaries of state and our ambassadors have been, and still are, well inside of the group of leading statesmen of both hemispheres who are working for peace and harmony. The question of the World Court is detached and definite. Without belonging to the League as at present constituted, we can give formal adherence to the statute under which the International Court has been created. Such a step has been strongly urged by Presidents Harding and Coolidge, and by Secretaries Hughes and Kellogg. The Republican platform of 1924 expressly endorsed adherence to the World Court while treating the League of Nations question as settled. The Democratic Convention defeated a clear pronouncement in favor of joining the League of Nations, but actually endorsed the plan of a popular referendum on that subject; and—without treating of the World Court in a separate plank—the sentiment of the convention was favorable to the court beyond any reasonable doubt. With the Democrats, it was not a question of joining the court, but one of going much farther and entering the League of Nations. The great ethical and religious organizations of the country are emphatically in favor of our adherence to the World Court. This is also true of commercial and economic bodies, and it is true of the American Federation of Labor. The Federal Council of Churches is one of many organizations that has specifically endorsed the plan and urged the Senate to comply with the recommendation of President Coolidge.

*We Should Sacrifice Nothing* It is quite true that the nations, in selecting judges, have found it convenient to make use of their League organization centered at Geneva. The World Court itself sits in the building at The Hague that was provided years ago by the munificence of an American citizen, Andrew Carnegie. Mr. Elihu Root was a member of the international committee for preparing the court plan and for defining the nature and character of the court's functions. The bill pending in the Senate arranges for a method by which the United States may join the other nations in selecting judges when vacancies occur. This court is a part of the general movement that is intended to promote peace and discourage the appeal to force. It is an attempt to help the public opinion of the world express itself in con-



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**HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH**

(Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations)

crete institutions. To hold that the United States would sacrifice any of its precious legacy of independence by helping to choose the judges of this court, and by paying its share of the very small sum of money required year by year to maintain the tribunal, is merely whimsical. The court already exists; an American citizen, John Bassett Moore, is a member of it; it is open at the present time to consider questions in which the United States has an interest, whether or not we have shared in choosing judges and paying expenses.

*A Leader  
Who  
Disagrees*

We should be at perfect liberty to withdraw at any time in the future if we did not choose to continue our official connection. Although the World Court has a certain relationship to the League of Nations, it should be remembered that the only objections brought to our joining the League had to do with certain articles in the Covenant seeming to carry the obligation to intervene in case of alleged aggression. But the World Court has no relation whatsoever to those matters about which there was objection in this country. Senator Borah, of Idaho, is opposed to our having official

place in the World Court. Mr. Borah has intellectual resources that are not to be disparaged. He does not agree with the 1924 conventions of the two great parties, nor with three successive Presidents, nor with all recent Secretaries of State. Neither does he agree with the Federal Council of Churches, nor the American Bar Association, nor the American Federation of Labor, nor with the consensus of newspaper opinion, nor with the majority of his fellow Senators. Mr. Borah is self-convinced. He is an impressive public speaker, an independent thinker, and he always commands a hearing. But his opinions do not habitually convince his colleagues, nor sway the final judgments of the American people.

*A Proper  
Division  
of Labor*

Unfortunately, the Senate has seemed unduly responsible over a tax measure to complete which the country relied upon the House. And it has deferred action upon the World Court, which was its own appropriate business for the opening weeks of the session. In the view of the country, the World Court and the tax measure are both of them non-partisan affairs. They have been thrashed out; and the nation has made up its mind. The Senate alone was dealing with them both in what is in effect a paltering fashion, and one that is not influential with the public. This is not because the Senators individually are below the average in judgment, in knowledge, or in patriotic devotion. It is partly because the Senate happens not to be a strictly representative

body. But chiefly it happens because the Senate is not properly organized or directed for legislative efficiency. It lacks leadership, and it lacks discipline. It fails sadly in its contacts with public opinion; and it responds slowly even when the public verdict is exceptionally clear, as it has been this winter in the case of the two measures which we have been discussing, namely, the Tax Bill and the World Court. The Senate should vindicate its boasted freedom from rigid rules by showing that it can occasionally meet the country's state of mind at least halfway and with good grace.

*Uncle Sam  
Will Visit  
Geneva*

It is not completely true that the House of Representatives has no part to play in relation to our international affairs. Where policies involve the appropriation of money, the House finds a way to show approval or disapproval of the policies themselves. For example, on January 6, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, under the chairmanship of Mr. Porter of Pennsylvania, made a unanimous report in favor of granting \$50,000 to pay the expenses of American representation at the preliminary disarmament conference that is to be held at Geneva in the near future. Here, again, one finds an example of clear-cut public opinion, duly recognized in the Sixty-ninth Congress. In accepting the European invitation, President Coolidge knew his ground and was aware that he would find ample sympathy and support. This is not a matter of slight consequence. Mr. Frank H. Simonds, in his contribution to the present number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, makes our plans for going to Geneva the foremost topic of the month as regards world questions. We recommend a careful reading of this article, which Mr. Simonds has written in Washington with exceptional sources of information. While this Geneva gathering is to prepare the plans and the program for a conference on disarmament that will follow at a later date, it is not to be regarded as merely perfunctory. It follows the Locarno agreements, and it means practical steps toward a lessening of the cost and of the danger of militarism.

*Mr. Borah  
Sometimes  
Concurs*

Even Mr. Borah, chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, is not opposing the President's plans, as regards cooperation with the League and its mem-



MR. BORAH MUST STOP THE TRAIN, OR JUMP

From the News (Dallas, Texas)



bers in promoting reduction of armaments. It must not be supposed that this Senator, when he so frequently assumes uncompromising attitudes, makes himself disagreeable either in manner or in speech. On the contrary, he is an intimate friend of Secretary Kellogg, is *persona grata* at the White House, where he is in frequent conference, and is always heard with respect and admiration by his colleagues in the Senate. He thinks we had better keep out of the World Court because of its connection with the League of Nations, which he considers a political body lacking independent authority. Mr. Borah would outlaw war completely; would join in adopting a code of international law; and would set up a real court to decide cases and enforce judgments. His ideals—utterly at variance with those of the empire builders of Europe—are both logical and praiseworthy. Most Americans, equally devoted to lofty ideals, think that we should join the present World Court as a hopeful beginning, embryonic though it may be.

*The Demand  
That War Be  
Outlawed*

In the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, during discussion of the Geneva conference, Mr. Hamilton Fish, Jr., of New York, proposed that our delegates should be instructed to make a move for the outlawing of aggressive nations that appeal to arms and ignore peaceable remedies for grievances. But while there was strong sympathy in the committee for this view, it was held that American delegates ought not to go to Geneva with specific instructions from Congress. Doubtless public opinion is moving toward something as far-reaching as the outlawry of armed aggression. But the country is ready to leave the choice of Geneva delegates, and the shaping of their instructions, to President Coolidge. The topic itself was recognized at Washington as one in which no partisanship was properly involved, and it was treated accordingly by the House of Representatives.

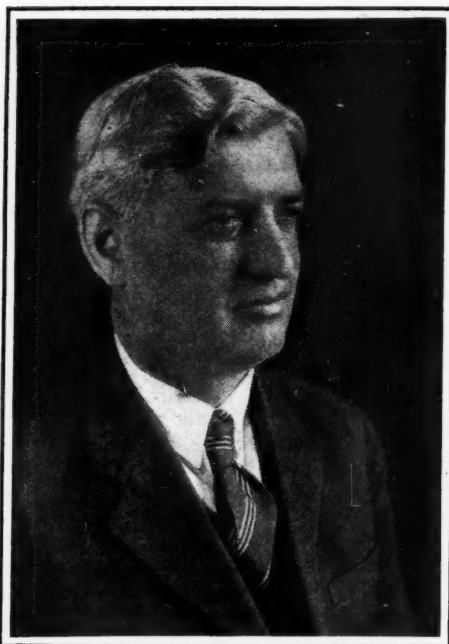
*An Inclusive  
Conference*

In contrast with a number of European conferences held since the Versailles Treaty, this forthcoming Geneva conference gains peculiar interest from the fact that Germany, the United States, and Russia are to take part. With the Locarno agreements, Germany is restored to an honorable place in the councils of Europe. Soviet Russia professes to have a great desire for

peace and disarmament, although a somewhat acute question had arisen last month between the Swiss Government and the Moscow authorities relating to the demand for diplomatic recognition of Russia by Switzerland prior to the conference. It is probable that disarmament questions during 1926 will have much more to do with the manufacture and sale of arms, and with the size and cost of land forces, than with naval armament. In Great Britain there is a strong agitation for the abolition of submarines by international agreement. With her immense merchant marine and her dependence upon sea-borne traffic for food and raw materials and for markets, the submarine is a device that the British may well regard as a menace rather than as a protective resource. The French and certain other governments see this question in a different light. The real remedy lies in the total abolition of separate navies, except for limited purposes of coastwise protection, and in the substitution of an international maritime police force. A naval conference at Washington may meet in 1927.

*Farmers  
and Their  
Problems*

The turn of the year brought out many optimistic expressions regarding the outlook for a continuance of prosperity in the United States. Plausible attempts were made to show that agriculture also had recovered from its severe backset, and had no further reason to complain. Unfortunately, the farmers themselves do not as a rule find cause to join in expressions of unqualified optimism. They pay high wages and high taxes; and, as they look to the future, they cannot figure out a way to get their fair share of the prosperity that is so widely acclaimed. The problem is too difficult for impatience or for heated controversy. Farming is a mode of life for more than one quarter of the American people; and everything possible ought to be done to make the comforts and conveniences of farm life so attractive as to compete fairly well with the attractions and comforts of town life. But besides being a mode of life, farming is also an industrial calling that requires the use of an increasing amount of capital, an ever-increasing scientific and technical knowledge on the side of production, and a use of business methods on the marketing side that must be made to correspond with the business methods that are successful in the marketing of manufactured commodities.



HON. L. J. DICKINSON, OF IOWA

(Who is serving his fourth term in Congress from the Tenth Iowa District. For the part Mr. Dickinson is taking in the movement to promote governmental encouragement of agricultural coöperative marketing, readers are referred to Mr. Holman's article, beginning on page 159)

*Can Public  
Measures Help  
Agriculture?*

As regards the conditions of farm life from the standpoint of convenience and comfort, the problems are chiefly such as must be worked out in regions, States, and localities. When we turn to the productive side of farming as an industry, we find that our experiment stations, our National and State departments of agriculture, our agricultural schools and colleges, our farmers' institutes, —and, above all, our highly intelligent and well-conducted farm journals—are pulling together to make the typical American farmer one of the best-instructed professional men we have in all the list of highly trained vocations. It is in relation to the marketing side of the business of agriculture that the farmer is overwhelmed by his difficulties. He raises wheat, and he is victimized by a madly fluctuating market that finds no justification in the facts. He fattens beef cattle, and sells them for less than it has cost him to buy the animals and produce the corn and other feed. He learns that similar conditions of helplessness, once prevailing, have been overcome by the firm and insistent practice of coöperation in cer-

tain special fields—such, for instance, as California oranges and lemons.

*Coöperation  
May Prove  
Remedial*

Agricultural coöperation has, undoubtedly, brought partial if not complete market success in a number of special products. As regards wheat, dairy products, live stock, and other farm staples of the more general sort, the firm control of markets through coöperation is more difficult. It might be argued that every farmer in the United States should agree not to raise a bushel of wheat for the market unless he has made a guaranteed sale, in advance, of his proportion of an estimated total. A Wheat-Grower's Association might bargain with an association of millers and grain-dealers for a normal supply on a scale of reasonable prices. Such ideas are easy to formulate, while to put them into effect would involve many obstacles. How to make it possible to give the farmer a reliable access to markets through coöperation, and to relieve him from the disasters due to present haphazard conditions, is a question with which President Coolidge has been concerning himself most seriously. The agricultural committees of both houses at Washington are studying it with an anxious desire to find ways by which the government may promote a sound solution. There is always danger that in these economic affairs well intended legislation may do more harm than



THE ROAD TO PROSPERITY  
From the Journal (Kansas City, Mo.)

good. Speaking in general, it is best that economic forces should be given free play, with intelligent foresight and with ample publicity. To attempt to apply the Sherman Anti-Trust law to farm coöperation, in the interest of consumers, would be both useless and harmful. Where consumers' coöperative societies can deal directly with producers' coöperatives, both sides are generally satisfied. It would be exceedingly difficult to prove, for that matter, that the Sherman Anti-trust law, in its futile attempts to maintain the wastefulness and costliness of old-fashioned competition, as against the beneficial effects of modern methods of big business, has ever been of any practical benefit, except as it has promoted a publicity that modern conditions undoubtedly require.

*A Bureau  
of Markets  
Advocated*

It is our opinion that the farmers should carry the coöperative marketing of their products as far as possible, under the dictates of experience. There was in session at Washington last month a four-day conference on agricultural coöperation led by men of sound judgment as well as of broad vision. Regular readers will remember that we gave special attention in this magazine a few months ago to the summer institute that the farm coöperators held in Philadelphia. Mr. Holman, who writes in this number on pending agricultural legislation, is himself one of the leaders of the coöperative movement. He favors the establishment of a bureau in the Department of Agriculture devoted to coöperative marketing, and the proposal is an excellent one.

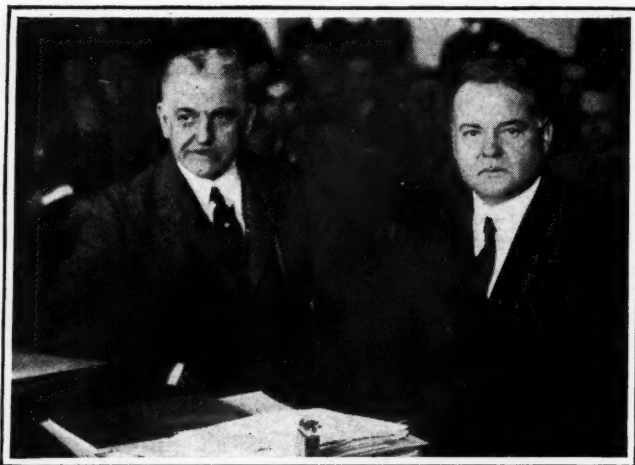
*Exports  
and Prices*

Where markets have an international character, marketing problems often meet with special complications. We have recently dealt successfully with an important matter relating to the marketing of our cotton crop by securing the adoption at Liverpool and on the European Continent of American standards for grading and classifying. This will make for stability and certainty. The British Government has been doing everything possible to promote the raising of cotton in regions under British control, with some success. From twenty to twenty-five years ago, India was producing only a quarter as much cotton as the United States, while of late the Indian crop has been almost half as much, and is now on the average about

two-fifths. Taking the past five years together, the United States has produced just one-half of the world's cotton. For a long time, England and Western Europe will be dependent largely upon the cotton fields of our South; but we shall not try to boost export prices by monopoly control. As regards breadstuffs and meats, dairy products and fruits, the United States will henceforth produce principally for the home market. It would, of course, be feasible to organize export sales of surplus supplies upon a coöperative plan. There has never been any attempt to make Europe pay dearly for our foodstuffs and raw materials. Neither directly nor indirectly, have we restricted exports or levied tolls upon European consumers. Our protective tariffs have been intended to benefit agriculture by giving the farmers the benefit of consuming markets here at home through the development of varied industries.

*Britain's  
Rubber  
Policy*

Some foreign governments, especially that of Great Britain, have always concerned themselves much more actively in relation to industry and commerce than our own. A recent instance has been the British policy in relation to crude rubber. We are publishing in this number an article summarizing the current facts regarding rubber production and prices, and the discussion of government policies. The cost of producing the two great international commodities, cotton and rubber, is about equal pound for pound. In a barter market, we ought to exchange a bale of cotton for an equal weight of crude rubber. Cotton is now selling quite profitably at about twenty cents a pound. Crude rubber, on the other hand, has been bringing more than a dollar a pound. Several years ago, at a moment when economic reactions, following the war, were dealing queerly with markets and prices, the rubber supply was temporarily greater than the demand, and the price suddenly dropped to a point below cost to the producers. About 70 per cent. of the world's rubber supply now comes from regions under the British flag. The companies that produce and market the rubber are principally controlled in London, and their shares of stock are for the most part owned in England. To conserve and stabilize the industry, the British Government invented and put in force in 1922 a system of export duties and of restricted production.



LEADERS IN THE STUDY OF THE RUBBER QUESTION

(On the right is Secretary Hoover, and on the left is Hon. James S. Parker, of New York, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House. A world-wide discussion of this subject was provoked by the House investigation and Mr. Hoover's testimony)

#### *Surprising Consequences of Monopoly*

This was done at a time when increased demand would in any case have absorbed surpluses at good prices, and would have taken care of as much increase of production as the rubber companies themselves would naturally have provided for. Inasmuch as the United States buys and uses about three-fourths of all the rubber that is produced in the world, the British restrictions, taken together with the increased demand, have resulted in putting a very heavy tax upon American consumers for the benefit of the producing companies, and especially for the enrichment of governments that levy export taxes. An investigation of the rubber question by the Department of Commerce, and certain utterances on the part of Secretary Hoover, have brought the subject into lively discussion everywhere. Sir Robert Horne, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer and chiefly responsible for the so-called Stevenson restrictions, has replied to Mr. Hoover with some asperity. He seems to think it unsportsmanlike for America to resent having been caught in a trap that American rubber companies ought to have been shrewd enough to have suspected in advance.

#### *Various Gains and Losses*

It is quite true that the American consumer neglected in 1922 to contract for his rubber supply for years in advance in order to protect himself against the 500 per cent.

increase above a reasonable profit that has followed Sir Robert's sensational policy. Figures are available to show what large sums of money are officially collected as rubber export taxes. We have not been given the facts, however, as to the still greater sums that—through excess profit taxes, surtaxes on the incomes of shareholders, and so on—the British revenues are absorbing from the enormously swollen receipts of the rubber monopolists, and thus from the ultimate consumer. There is no occasion to be acrimonious on either

side. If there were any disposition to adopt reprisals, doubtless ways could be found to make cotton at Manchester cost as much as rubber at Akron. But reprisals should not be considered for a moment. The Stevenson plan of rubber restriction was not intended to injure American consumers, or to do anything else except to stabilize rubber prices on a profitable basis. Unforeseen events have shown that the plan was not needed. Neither could we foresee, a quarter-century ago, in adopting what seemed to be good land laws for the Philippines, that the forbidding of ownership in large tracts was destined to prevent the development of rubber production under the American flag.

#### *Experience Teaches*

In all these matters of policy, experience is the necessary teacher. The British treasury gains, but the British user of rubber loses. The British policy is no more fortunate for Canada than for the United States. A Canadian automobile owner is in just the same position as regards the price of tires as his neighbor across the line. We are publishing, by the way, a practical article by Mr. Theodore Wood, who at our request has given much information regarding the relation of rubber to the making and the cost of tires, and who writes with knowledge and also with perfect good temper. Congress is justified in studying, under the guidance of Mr. Hoover and the Department of Commerce, the whole subject of foreign monop-



olies as regulated or controlled by Governments. It is proper that Americans should know just how much they are taxed by Brazil's coffee control, and by foreign controls of nitrates, potash, and various other products. There is no reason, however, for uncomplimentary references to any particular government, certainly not to that of Great Britain or that of Brazil. As regards rubber, the largest American buyers, particularly the companies making automobile tires, formed an organization last month at the time of the brilliant automobile show in New York, which will have ample capital and take up at once the question of producing a supply of crude rubber that shall be safe from the interference of foreign governments. A large investment will be made.

*Europe  
Becoming  
Monopolistic*

Undoubtedly there is a strong tendency in Europe toward the forming of powerful monopolies under government control. The British Government does not hesitate to go into the oil business, and this furnishes the key to its quarrel with Turkey over control of the Mosul district. Rubber, cotton, and other commodities, are involved in British imperial policy. The British drift is toward a unified transportation system under government control, and it seems quite probable that the entire coal industry of England will take the form of a huge monopoly as now advocated by the Labor Party. The telephone and telegraph in England are already governmental affairs, consolidated with the postal service. Mr. Edward F. Wise, a brilliant exponent of English socialism, and a leading member of the Labor Party, has been in the United States this winter expounding these European tendencies. He believes that England will learn to buy wheat, cotton, and other foodstuffs and raw materials in bulk from producing countries. He explains that the export business of Russia is rapidly increasing, and is wholly in the hands of the central agents of the Russian coöperative movement, for which Mr. Wise himself is a business representative in Great Britain. Anglo-Russian trade is growing.

*Germany  
Under the  
Dawes Plan*

The modern tendencies of German industry have been notably those of the controlled monopoly and the cartel. Under the reparation policy, German railroads are welded into a system that is controlled by a German corporation obligated under the Dawes



HON. S. PARKER GILBERT, AGENT-GENERAL  
FOR REPARATIONS

(After valuable service as Under-Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gilbert was appointed to succeed Mr. Owen Young in directing the execution of the Dawes plan in the autumn of 1924, and his handling of a difficult and complicated job has gained approval of all statesmen and financiers)

plan to contribute a large sum out of its earnings toward reparation payments. German industries also have to pay their share, although they are not under full public control. Americans were reminded particularly of the economic changes that have followed the adoption of the Dawes plan by the visit to the United States of the Agent General for Reparations, who is Mr. Seymour Parker Gilbert, formerly of the Treasury Department at Washington. The plan is working with remarkable smoothness and success; and Mr. Gilbert, after a little more than a year's handling of this delicate and complicated business enterprise, has earned the unbounded confidence not only of the Germans themselves but of the statesmen and financiers of the allied countries. The Dawes plan led to Locarno; and Locarno is leading to a friendly conference on disarmament. Yet there are those who say that the United States has been rendering no service to distracted Europe! It might be suggested that in our readiness to help Europe's economic recuperation we are not sufficiently safeguarding our own commercial position.



THE LATE QUEEN DOWAGER OF ITALY

(Queen Margherita, who died January 4, was born in 1851, and at the age of seventeen was married to her cousin, Humbert, the Prince Royal, who succeeded his father, Victor Emmanuel I, as King, in January, 1878. King Humbert was assassinated in July, 1900, and was succeeded by Victor Emmanuel III, the present King. Margherita's popularity through a long lifetime was due to a rare combination of admirable qualities)

*Europe  
Seeking  
Leadership*

With the strong drift in Europe toward economic monopoly under government auspices, it is plain that there is also a decided trend away from the deadlocks caused by parliamentary blocs and factions, toward the plan of a strong executive head who can make prompt decisions and get things done. Mr. Parker Gilbert himself is an example of what a skilful executive can do to turn a "plan" into a working success. As President of Germany, Hindenburg shows at once loyalty to the nation and unexpected capacity for executive results. He supports Luther and Stresemann, and upholds the republic. Mussolini in Italy has not only found a way to save his countrymen from bolshevistic turmoil, but he has stirred their imagination and given them a vision of the great future that lies before the Italian people. Mr. Alexander Moore, returning from his residence at Madrid as American Ambassador, praises King Alfonso as a ruler of remarkable talents who has worked in harmony with the recent reforms in Spanish

government. While the French people could not be happy under a dictator who would trample upon republican institutions, they would be fortunate if they could learn to trust some strong man long enough to support his decisions, so that they might stabilize their currency, balance their budget, complete their work in the devastated districts without extravagance or scandal, and put their war debts upon a fair basis of settlement. Parties and factions are the bane of France, and masterful leadership over a period of years is the thing most needed.

*Royalty in  
the Current  
News*

The idea of restoring monarchy in France is of course chimerical. An energetic and dominating monarch would not be tolerated; and the presidency furnishes a nominal head of the state for all the purposes of dignity and ornament. Belgium has a king who is an accepted leader, and a popular queen. The British royal family holds its place of quiet influence in affairs, and is enshrined in the affections of the people. Everybody in England of late has been trying to marry off the Prince of Wales in a suitable way, and literally millions of people have been concerning themselves about the visit of a Scandinavian Princess. Astrid of Sweden is profiting in England by the marvelous prestige of a former Danish Princess, the late Queen Mother Alexandra. The Italian royal family does nothing to destroy the great tradition of Victor Emmanuel, who made Italian unity a fact. Italy's Queen Mother, Margherita, who died last month, held the same place of honor and esteem with Italians as that of Alexandra with the British. The royal family of Greece, so popular in decades before the war, has had one misfortune after another. Similarly, the Rumanian royal family, renowned for a Queen who was successful in literature and everywhere admired, has had its sorrows and tragedies. A popular Crown Prince, the victim of private entanglements, has lately renounced his rights of Rumanian succession. Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs break into the European news dispatches from time to time, but there are no omens that point to their restoration in Germany, Austria, or Hungary. Royalty is on its good behavior everywhere, but with scanty prospects of regaining its place as a permanent institution. The dethroned families are chiefly concerned about their money and estates.

**Coalition  
Strategy at  
Washington**

The American Government shows its friendly wish to promote Europe's welfare by its acceptance of the Geneva invitation, its contributions to the success of the Dawes plan, its liberality in debt adjustments, and its willingness to assume official relation to the World Court. Readers should bear in mind the fact that President Coolidge had been assured the Senate would vote favorably on the world court not later than January 15. This fair understanding has met with disappointment. Opponents of the world court are needlessly prolonging partisan discussion of the tax bill, and are planning to delay final action on the court by adopting various reservations. On January 12, after a debate running through several days, the Senate, by a vote of 41 to 39, rejected the convincing adverse report of a committee headed by Senator Goff of West Virginia, and seated Mr. Nye of North Dakota. The forty-one votes for the most part comprised Democrats and so-called Progressives. Mr. Nye in 1924 was one of the third-party LaFollette leaders of the Northwest. The significance of the victory of the coalition that made Mr. Nye a Senator lies in the fact that it exhibits certain further possibilities. It adds one more to the enemies of prompt tax legislation, of favorable world court action, and of the ratification of the Italian debt settlement and the other adjustments made by the Debt Commission. Those who believe the Coolidge Administration to be right in its main policies should do what they can to strengthen his hand in the Senate as against the coalitionists.

**The  
Tacna-Arica  
Affair**

No one questions the desire of our government to maintain good relations throughout the western hemisphere. The most difficult country to deal with for many years past has been Mexico. Bolshevik views south of the Rio Grande tend always to seek the confiscation of property held by foreigners. In South America, our government has been drawn more deeply than had been expected into the dispute between Chile and Peru over the ultimate ownership of the small coastwise strip known as Tacna-Arica. Certain phases of this dispute were referred to the President of the United States as arbitrator. It was decided at Washington that the original agreement between the two countries, to the effect



THE NEW SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA, GERALD P. NYE, WITH HIS COLLEAGUE, SENATOR LYNN J. FRAZIER

(Mr. Nye, at the right, is a young newspaperman, and he is said to be committed to the coalition of Western radicals with Democratic Senators)

that the sovereignty of the area should be settled by a vote of its inhabitants, ought to be carried out even at this late day. This was a proper decision in theory, but a very unfortunate one in its relation to the facts. There is no considerable population in that arid strip except illiterate, and more or less transient, laborers. The decision, instead of pleasing Chile and Peru, has alternately exasperated each of them.

**The One  
Ideal  
Solution**

General Pershing was sent to the disputed area as head of a commission to see that the plebiscite was properly carried out. There has been delay, and the health of General Pershing has been impaired, so that he has had to withdraw and return for medical treatment. Our new Governor of the Panama Zone, General Lassiter, an admirable officer of the highest competence and character, has been sent to take his place. The United States, as regards this dispute, cares only for a peaceable and happy settlement that will make for permanent friendship on the west coast of South America. There has always been one ideal solution.



MAJ.-GEN. WILLIAM LASSITER, GOVERNOR  
OF THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE

(General Lassiter has had a varied and brilliant army career, including service in the Spanish War and important commands in France. He has recently succeeded Mr. Morrow as Governor of the Canal Zone and is now replacing General Pershing as neutral head of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscite Commission)

Many years ago Bolivia was deprived of her outlet to the ocean. Neither Chile nor Peru has any need of the Tacna-Arica strip; and it ought to be ceded to Bolivia for a nominal price, as a token of that larger generosity among nations that begins to appear as the old-time war spirit recedes. This solution ought to be urged by South American statesmen; and it should not seem to owe its influence to persuasion from Washington. Such an example of high-minded and far-seeing statesmanship would impress the whole world.

*Progress in  
Armenia*

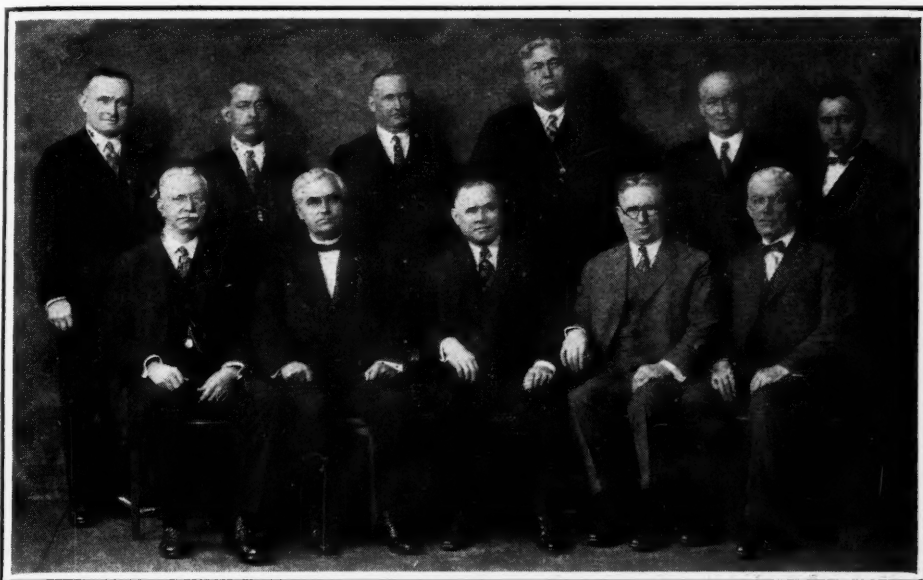
We are publishing in this number a brief article on Armenia by an English writer, Miss Magda Coe, who has been spending several months in the United States advocating the cause of the little republic that the Armenian people are carrying on in what was once known as the Russian Caucasus. Miss Coe has held confidential government posts in England, and now represents the interest of British philanthropists in the peoples of the Near East.

She finds Armenians making great progress, and is convinced that in their local affairs they are not now subjected to undue interference from Moscow. A considerable part of the great work for helpless orphans that is carried on by the efficient American society known as the "Near East Relief" is within the territory of this Armenian Republic, and for best results it is obvious that good relations with the local authorities are necessary. It may be stated that the government of Armenia, known as the "Transcaucasian Republic," has not only shown appreciation of the efforts of the Near East Relief, but the officials at Tiflis, which is the Transcaucasian metropolis, are now doing everything in their power to help the work, this including full care of some 15,000 orphans. Government dues and charges of every kind are remitted, including transportation of supplies on the state-owned railroads. The Near East Relief has entered upon the year 1926 with prospects of well-sustained support in America, and of success in all its further work of relief and of training young people for self-support and usefulness.

*Labor  
Prosperity  
in America*

Labor and capital in the United States show a much better understanding of their mutual interests and relationships than ever before. Capital admits that high wages must be accepted as permanent, while labor leaders realize that production must not be restricted and that labor-saving devices are best for everybody in the long run. The heads of the railroad brotherhoods are now committed to a plan which will protect the public from the danger of transportation strikes. It involves the full acceptance of arbitration under public auspices, and also the abolition of the Railway Labor Board. The notable exception to the rule of improved relations between wage-earners and employers is found in the business of coal-mining. The anthracite strike was regarded as nearing an end last month; but hopes were blighted by what would seem to be the blind and fanatical obstinacy of Mr. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers. If the coal operators have been arbitrary in some former periods of dispute, their arrogance is now matched by that of the heads of the miners' union. The American Federation of Labor under Mr. Green's leadership is more influential, and enjoys public confidence to a greater degree than





© Harris &amp; Ewing

## THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

(Seated, from left to right, are: James Duncan, first vice-president, who was a granite cutter; Frank Morrison, secretary, a printer; William Green, president, mine worker; Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer, teamster; and Frank Duffy, second vice-president, carpenter. Standing, from left to right are six other vice-presidents: T. A. Rickert, of the garment trades; Jacob Fischer, barber; James Wilson, pattern maker; Martin F. Ryan, railway carman; James P. Noonan, electrical worker; and Matthew Woll, photo-engraver)

ever. The Federation ought to find some way to persuade the miners to go to work and to accept arbitration. The Council as a body would compare favorably with an equal number of corporation executives or Senators.

### *Railway Wages Up Again*

The four big railroad brotherhoods, trainmen, conductors, firemen and engineers, are preparing to demand substantially higher wages—in fact higher than even the war-time peak. In 1921, the Federal Labor Board reduced railway wages from the highest war figures by 12 per cent. and then, last year, gave back 5 per cent., leaving these aristocratic unions within about 7 per cent. of the 1920 level. In January it was reported that the railroad workers would not be satisfied even with being taken back to the war level, which, of course, was the highest level ever reached in railway wages—but would demand a flat advance of one dollar per day. The railway managers have been getting along with their men quietly and successfully during the past year or two, since the disastrous strike of the shopmen. It would be most unfortunate if these orderly processes were now to give way to conflict and strikes.

### *To Ban Railway Strikes*

But it is not believed that the new prosperity, so hardly won by the railroads, will be endangered in this way. A bill has been introduced by Senator Watson, Chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, with a very carefully considered plan for settlement of all disputes of railway managers with their workers. It has been stated that spokesmen for both the railroads and the rail unions have informed the President that they were agreed on the advisability of the adjustment methods used in the Watson Bill. Superseding the present law governing the Railway Labor Board, the Watson Bill provides that the President is to appoint a Board of Mediation of five members, with the advice of the Senate. This Board is to intervene in any unsettled labor disputes either at the request of one of the parties or on its own motion. Arbitration is provided for when both parties consent to arbitrate. If a dispute still persists and threatens to interrupt commerce, the Board so notifies the President, who is then authorized to create a special board to investigate and report, with provisions which promise automatically to prevent any strike before investigation.



REPRESENTATIVES OF ANTHRACITE COAL MINERS, WHO CONFERRED WITH OPERATORS, AT NEW YORK, BUT FAILED TO SETTLE THE STRIKE

(From left to right are: Andrew Matthey, Christopher J. Golden, John L. Lewis, president of the miners' union, and Rinaldo Coppellini)

**The Railroads' Best Year** Until 1925, never since the Esch-Cummins law went into effect—nor at any other time in the last ten years—have the railroads of the country come within hailing distance of earning the  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. which Congress directed the Interstate Commerce Commission to allow them to earn. In 1925, owing to the greatest volume of traffic ever known, handled with real efficiency and with the aid of lower prices for coal, the railways, as a whole, seem to have earned close to 5.6 per cent. on the tentative valuation of their property fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. For the period from July to October, inclusive, the roads actually earned, for the first and only time, their allowed profit; the exact net income for that particular period being 5.9 per cent. These results were achieved in spite of the fact that the taxes paid by railroads, including federal, state and local, amounted, in 1925, to \$360,000,000, which was quite the highest figure on record. It is more than the stockholders get from their properties. These taxes increased \$16,000,000 for the year.

**Lower Freight Rates** At the same time reductions were made in freight rates last year that lessened railway revenue by about \$112,000,000. In fact

the ton-mile revenue has been going steadily down during the last five years. In 1921 it averaged 1.274 cents; in 1922, 1.176; in 1923 and 1924, 1.116, and in 1925 about 1.094. These fractional changes do not look important to the layman; but the editor of the *Railway Age* figures out that the difference between the 1921 average rate of 1.274 cents and the 1925 rate of 1.094 cents means a saving to shippers, in one year, of no less than \$743,000,000 of freight charges. While there has been no general reduction in the passenger rates, these too, have in actuality declined, through the making of special excursion rates, so that the traveling public would have paid, in 1925, \$21,000,000 more for railroad tickets than it did pay, if the average rate had been as high as the year before.

**Recent Exploits of a Financier**

In this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS there is printed a character sketch of Mr. Clarence M. Dillon, who has, in recent months, fairly taken the breath away from the financial world by his bold and successful reorganization of important businesses such as the Dodge Motor Car Company and the National Cash Register Company, each of which had, until Mr. Dillon took hold, been associated with a person or family. Mr.

Frank J. Williams has had the opportunity of personal contact with Mr. Dillon to aid him in making a clean-cut and attractive picture of this meteoric financial career. Mr. Dillon's chief formula in the operations which have most attracted public attention includes the purchase outright of a splendidly successful business by himself and his associates and the quick sale to the public of great blocks of new securities based on the assets and earning power of the enterprise. So far Mr. Dillon's ingenuity, daring and timely judgment have been such that the episodes have seemed to end in thousands of investors getting securities they were glad to own; the former owners of the businesses receiving splendid prices; and Mr. Dillon's making huge sums of money out of the transactions while at the same time keeping control of the management of the enterprises that he has reorganized on a stock-market basis.

*Ownership  
Without  
Control*

The last has been achieved through the device of issuing to Mr. Dillon and his associates the only class of stock that is entitled to vote, although hundreds of thousands of shares of another, non-voting, stock was sold to the public. The net result is that the investors who have paid for the ownership of the enterprise and who probably do own it, have nothing to say, whatsoever, as to its management, and never will have anything to say. Of course Mr. Dillon is not the only financial power, nor the first one, to use this expedient by which one can virtually eat one's cake and have it too. The matter has been arousing wide discussion. With millions of investors throughout the United States owning great industrial units and sharing none of the control, which is lodged, say, in small Wall Street groups, there is certain to be proposals for some new kind of legal regulation even of private businesses of this nature.

*Colonel Ayres  
as a  
Prophet*

Last month Col. Leonard P. Ayres, in his very clear account, in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, of the greatest boom in stocks the country has ever seen, was confident enough of his premises to suggest that the turning point in this unprecedented speculation in securities might well come with the raising of the Federal Reserve Bank's New York discount rate. Furthermore, although he

realized very clearly the dangers of prophesying in detail, Colonel Ayres predicted that the bank rate would be increased in the early days of January. It was so increased, from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent., on January 7. It was obvious, to any reader of Colonel Ayres' articles, that he was not foretelling any great demoralization of the market on this or any other particular date; but simply that the upward limits of this historic movement in securities would be found to be somewhat closely related in point of time to this bank rate increase.

*General  
Business  
Conditions*

So far as concerns the state of industry immediately ahead of us, there is certainly nothing in sight to produce a slump in the price of securities. In the basic iron and steel industry, production in January was on the highest plane ever reached in mid-winter, with the mills turning out steel ingots at the rate of about fifty million tons a year. The railroads have announced that they would have to spend about \$800,000,000 in 1926. A large crop of cotton has encouraged the cotton manufacturers, while the woolen industries have been aided by the lower prices of their staple. The silk industry has shown the largest year's business ever recorded, and extraordinary increases have come in the new "Rayon" manufactures. About the only weak point, industrially, has been the anthracite coal strike; and here the situation has not been nearly so bad for the public as had been anticipated, because the public has simply learned to use oil and bituminous coal.

*The New York  
Automobile  
Show*

The New York Automobile Show of 1926, which set the town to talking and buying motor-cars last month, came when the automobile industry was, for the tenth time or more, breaking all records. Shrewd and far-seeing New York bankers freely admit that they have been utterly unable to discern, until right upon them, the successive industrial miracles of the motor-car. Again and again and again they have talked about saturation points and proved their contentions that the peak of the industry had been reached or was about to be reached—only again to confront new and more rapid expansion in the production and consumption of motor-cars than any seen before. At the Show, in the Grand Central Palace in New York City, there were representa-

tives from twenty nations and a bewildering number and variety of passenger motor-cars, sufficient to give a tangible reminder that the making of automobiles and their parts is now the greatest American industry; which means, of course, the greatest industry the world has ever seen. The New York Show found several of the most important and popular motor-cars reduced in price by substantial sums. There is a tendency, this winter, toward the attainment of greater endurance—less grinding of valves and regulating of bearings per thousand miles of use. Eight-cylinder motors seem to be more in vogue than before; the closed body, of course, continues and increases its comparatively new popularity. More cars have four-wheel brakes and balloon tires have become the rule. Steel bodies are coming into favor.

*Miraculous  
Prosperity*

The profits of the motor-car makers during the past year—at least those producing the more popular cars—are all but incredible. The manufacturers turned out 3,225,000 "pleasure" cars in 1925; the total registration of motor-vehicles in the United States reached over 20,000,000. Over 500,000 cars were exported. Setting aside Mr. Ford, who, of course, is himself the chief industrial miracle, the General Motors Company reported net profits for the first nine months of 1925, of more than \$74,000,000, with the year's net, above depreciation, interest and taxes, estimated at something like \$100,000,000. This one company showed in its last balance sheet given to the public, cash and marketable securities of \$143,000,000. On January 13, another motor-car maker, the Nash Company, announced a stock dividend of \$900, besides cash dividends of 30 per cent. The Packard Company, in its last fiscal year, earned \$12,191,000 and the Studebaker reported \$15,000,000 for the first nine months' period. The Hudson Company, in its last fiscal year, made net profits of \$21,000,000, and the Willys-Overland Company, which was, only a couple of years ago, in the financial doldrums, accumulated \$13,600,000 of profits in the first nine months of last year. These are, of course, simply random selections of prosperous manufacturers; a complete list would be many times as long. No wonder that automobile securities have been the sensation of the greatest "bull market" on the Stock Exchange that has

ever been known. Chrysler Corporation, for instance, began in 1925 by selling around 36; by November it was 253. General Motors Corporation, with a volume of financial and manufacturing activities comparable with those of the Steel Corporation and with a huge number of stock shares outstanding, ranged from 64 to 149. The Packard Motor Car Company, standing for conservatism and dignity, showed an extreme advance in the price of its stock from 15 to 48½. Mack Trucks, Inc., maker of heavy commercial vehicles and the successor of a hopelessly insolvent concern, showed an extreme advance in 1925 from 117 to 242.

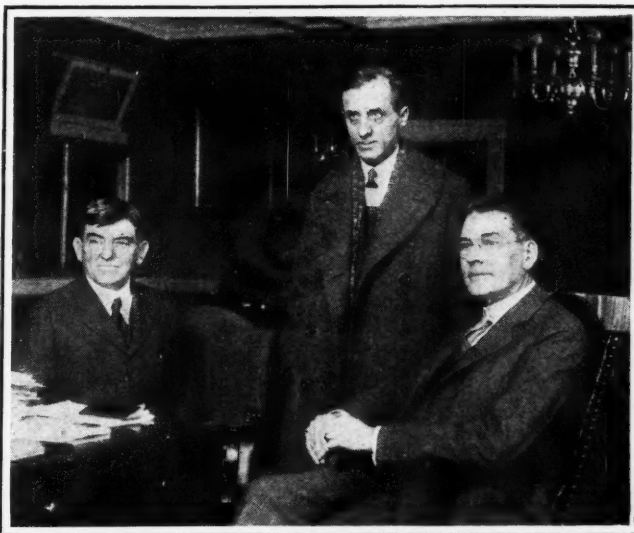
*Who Can  
Buy So Many  
Cars?*

The triumphant and supremely confident automobile men are predicting even better results for the industry in 1926 and are blithely preparing production schedules which will require the sale of something like 4,000,000 new cars. Conservatives, who have been talking for ten years about the imminence of the saturation point, have been shamed and silenced by the results of last year. As so nearly always happens in the field of financial and industrial speculation, the very juncture which finds us necessarily much nearer saturation point in the motor-car industry than we have ever been before, finds the question of saturation, for the first time, out of fashion. Two great causes chiefly explain the colossal growth of the motor-car industry and those 20,000,000 cars now running over the roads. The first and more fundamental is the extraordinarily wide diffusion of prosperity, which is giving the people of the United States a purchasing power for articles like motor-cars, such as has never been dreamt of before in history. Twelve dollars a day for bricklayers, \$18 a day for plumbers—and wages, generally, well over twice as high as the pre-war level, mean, of course, millions of new automobile purchasers. A second explanation is the device of instalment selling. Some cars can be purchased with payments at the rate of only \$5 a week after a modest first deposit. The total number of instalment purchases of motor-cars is variously estimated from 80 to 95 per cent. of all automobile sales. The farmer is the largest buyer of motor-cars—6,000,000 farm families in the United States now own them and travel ten times as much as they did before the motor age came.



*Mayor  
Walker  
Begins Well*

The affairs of New York City have long since assumed a nation-wide interest. The fact, therefore, that Mayor Walker has made what seems to be a very good beginning is attracting attention in all our cities from one coast to the other. In his appointments, notably of a Police head, and a head of the Health Department, Mayor Walker has been praised by the friends of good government. He has taken steps to break the deadlock in the building of additional subways. He meets all comers frankly and with an engaging personality. Most of the heads of departments have been retained from the Hylan Administration; but the methods and the spirit of the municipal government seem to be greatly improved under Mayor Walker's agreeable manners, accompanied by expressions of high purpose and by an intelligent mode of approach. His apparent zeal for getting things done in the right way has quickened good will on all sides.



**SMEDLEY BUTLER LEAVES PHILADELPHIA AND RETURNS TO THE MARINE CORPS**

(At the left of the group is Major-General Lejeune, who commands the Marines. In the middle is Brig.-General Butler, who for two years has been Director of Public Safety in Philadelphia. At the right is the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Wilbur, whose department embraces the Marine Corps)

*Philadelphia  
Loses  
Butler*

Undoubtedly we are making advances everywhere in the business of running our large cities. Cincinnati has done well for itself in taking Colonel Sherrill from Washington, D. C., to be its new city manager. A Philadelphia episode has attracted attention because General Smedley Butler is as widely

known a public character as Colonel Sherrill. Butler's reputation in the Marine Corps led to his appointment, two years ago, to head the police and public safety departments of Philadelphia, his job being to clean up bootlegging, police graft, and other forms of law-breaking. Butler thought it his duty to stay a third year in Philadelphia, whereas the Mayor seemed to become weary of the reforming zeal of his foremost department head. Denouncing Philadelphia's corruption, Butler found happy welcome back in the Marine Corps.



**MAYOR WALKER OF NEW YORK AND HIS ASSISTANTS**

(At the left of the picture is Edward Stanton, the Mayor's Secretary. At the right is Charles Kerrigan, who holds the office of Assistant to the Mayor)

# THE GIST OF A MONTH'S NEWS

FROM DECEMBER 15, 1925, TO JANUARY 15, 1926

## 1. PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 15.—In the Senate, a strong debate on prohibition develops for three hours, led by Messrs. Bruce (Dem., Md.), Edge (Rep., N. J.), and King (Dem., Utah) for the advocates of moderation and Messrs. Willis (Rep., Ohio), Shepard (Dem., Tex.), and McKellar (Dem., Tenn.) for the "drys."

December 16.—The House approves the estate tax-reduction to a maximum of 20 per cent.

December 17.—In the Senate, Mr. Swanson (Dem., Va.), ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, begins debate on the World Court by advocating United States membership with reservations.

December 18.—The House passes the Revenue bill, by vote of 390 to 25, reducing taxes \$325,736,000; income taxes are reduced \$193,575,000 and others \$128,661,000.

In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, replies to Mr. Swanson in debate on the World Court.

December 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Pepper (Rep., Pa.), formerly opposed, announces that he will support American adherence to the World Court.

The House adopts a resolution by Mr. Reed (Rep., N. Y.) for participation in an anti-narcotic conference at Philadelphia in 1926.

The House authorizes inquiry by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce into manipulation of commodities (particularly rubber) by foreign governments and producers.

January 4.—Congress reassembles after the holiday recess and the President sends a special message recommending an appropriation of \$50,000 to cover American expenses of participation in the Disarmament Conference.

January 5.—In both Houses, resolutions are introduced calling for investigation of the Aluminum Company of America.

The House votes, 248 to 27, to create a joint Congressional committee to negotiate leases on Government power plants at Muscle Shoals.

January 6.—The Senate orders an investigation of the failure of the Department of Justice to proceed against the Aluminum Company of America.

In the Senate, a resolution by Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) to investigate World Court propaganda is defeated by vote of 54 to 16, with 11 Republicans and 5 Democrats in the minority.

The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce hears Secretary Hoover take a strong stand against foreign Government monopolies of such commodities as rubber, nitrates, potash, and sisal; he says they endanger sane progress and international good-will.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee unanimously recommends the appropriation of \$50,000 for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

January 8.—The Senate Committee on Judiciary hears Atty.-Gen. John G. Sargent in regard to his work on the case of the Aluminum Company of America for alleged violation of anti-trust laws; he is doubtful how confidential information of the Federal Trade Commission can be obtained.

In the Senate, the Federal Trade Commission report is received, exonerating the American Tobacco Company and the Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain from responsibility for difficulties of tobacco-growers in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

The House receives the majority report of the Ways and Means Committee, recommending ratification of debt agreements with Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Latvia, and Rumania.

January 11.—In the Senate, the Finance Committee votes 10 to 7 against taking off an additional \$44,000,000 from the House tax bill.

January 12.—The Senate votes 41 to 39 to seat Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota under an interim appointment by the Governor.

## II. DOMESTIC POLITICAL NOTES

December 16.—The Illinois Supreme Court decides that Gov. Len Small must account to the State for interest withheld while State Treasurer.

December 17.—Col. William Mitchell—who made charges of inefficiency in aviation—is found guilty by army court-martial of conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline; he is suspended from rank and command for five years, with forfeiture of pay and allowances.

U. S. District-Attorney Emory R. Buckner, of New York, announces that deaths from alcohol poisoning in New York City have increased from 87 in 1918 to 511 in 1925 (not including December); denatured alcohol production increased from 23,000,000 gallons in 1921 to 67,000,000 in 1924.

December 18.—Ogden H. Hammond, of New Jersey, is named as Ambassador to Spain, to succeed Alexander P. Moore, resigned.

At Indianapolis, 23 persons are convicted of conspiracy to violate the prohibition law in St. Louis.

December 19.—Burdette G. Lewis resigns as head of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, where he has reorganized the treatment of insane.

December 21.—Richard V. Taylor of Alabama is named to succeed Charles C. McChord on the Interstate Commerce Commission; the nomination of Thomas L. Woodlock is also submitted.

December 22.—Brig.-Gen. Smedley D. Butler, U. S. M. C., is dismissed by Mayor Kendrick of Philadelphia as Director of Public Safety; he is succeeded by George W. Elliott.

December 24.—Howard Sutherland of West Virginia is appointed to succeed Frederick C. Hicks as Alien Property Custodian.

December 29.—The indictment against Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana is quashed at Washington.

January 1.—The *Shenandoah* Naval Court of Inquiry condemns structural changes in the ship resulting in reduced gas valving, but holds that the disaster was not due to failure of personnel or material.

James J. Walker is inaugurated as Mayor of New York, succeeding John F. Hylan.

January 4.—The United States Supreme Court holds unconstitutional the current wage act of Oklahoma, the Iowa bank stock tax, and Texas legislation levying assessments for highways.

At Boston, for the first time since 1909, a Republican Mayor is inaugurated; he is Malcolm E. Nichols.

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals upholds the lower court in the Doheny Elk Hills Naval Reserve oil lease cancellation; it also reverses an award of \$11,786,928.31 as damages to the Pan-American Petroleum Company.

January 6.—Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York (Dem.) delivers his annual message, demanding from the legislature (Rep.) sacrifice of political advantage for real service to the people.

Governor Fuller of Massachusetts urges eight amendments to the criminal laws, in his annual message to the legislature.

January 9.—The Naval Court of Inquiry on the sinking of the submarine *S-51* last September, lays the blame for collision on the steamship *City of Rome*, of the Savannah Line.

Police Commissioner McLaughlin, of New York, recovers a second consignment of department records from the International Police Conference offices of ex-Commissioner Enright; the first covered vice, the second identification records.

January 13.—The Pennsylvania Legislature meets in special session; Governor Pinchot requests drastic changes in coal laws placing control of the industry in the Public Service Commission, reform of election laws, State control of giant power, Camden bridge tolls and prohibition enforcement.

January 14.—The Virginia General Assembly votes 54 to 1 against ratification of the Federal Child Labor amendment.

### III. ROYALTY AGAIN IN THE NEWS

December 18.—King Alexander and Queen Marie of Yugoslavia arrange to visit Croatia over Christmas as a gesture of reconciliation.

December 24.—Secretary Hoover's war library reveals, upon translation, that the Russian Czarist Government tried to avert the Great War.

December 29.—It is announced that Princess Astrid, niece of the King of Sweden, will soon visit Buckingham Palace, and all England is agog over the possibility of a marriage to the Prince of Wales.

December 31.—Crown Prince Carol renounces the succession to the Roumanian throne; his son Michael, by Princess Helen of Greece, will take his place, aged four.

Hohenzollern war losses are estimated at \$25,000,000 besides the thrones; Germany acquired \$220,000,000 of Hohenzollern properties.

January 4.—Margherita, Queen Mother of Italy, is dead at the age of seventy-four.

January 5.—Prince Ludwig Windisch-Graetz of Hungary is arrested at Budapest for complicity in a

40,000,000 franc counterfeiting plot, together with many adherents of Archduke Albert.

January 7.—Archduke Albert resigns as president of the Hungarian Fascist Federation.

January 10.—Archduke Joseph, Hungarian Hapsburg, says in an interview that the monarchy must be restored in Hungary along independent, democratic lines, as in England.

January 11.—Former Ambassador Alexander P. Moore, at a dinner in New York, praises King Alfonso of Spain for his courage and his work.

### IV. OCCURRENCES IN CHINA

December 15.—The Japanese War Department orders 1,000 troops transferred from Korea to Mukden, and 3,500 men are sent to protect the South Manchuria Railway; Chang Tso-lin is engaged in a battle near Paikipu.

December 23.—The Dutch Minister at Peking protests the stopping of an international refugee train from Tientsin by Gen. Feng Yu-hsiang.

The International Commission of Inquiry on Shanghai riots on May 30 reports its findings; British police officers resign, and the Shanghai municipal council tenders \$75,000 for relatives of riot victims.

December 24.—Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, who controls Peking, captures the port of Tientsin.

December 26.—Gen. Chang Tso-lin defeats Gen. Kuo Sung-ling at Mukden, executing him.

December 30.—Gen. Hsu Shu-cheng, a former Anfu leader, is assassinated by Capt. Lu Cheng-wu.

January 6.—Marshal Chang Tso-lin is reported to have retired in Manchuria.

January 9.—Marshal Feng's resignation as commander of the National People's Army is accepted.

January 12.—The Extraterritorial Conference in China opens at Peking with an address of welcome by Ma Chun-wu, Minister of Justice; Silas H. Strawn, of Chicago, is elected chairman.

### V. POINTS IN FOREIGN POLITICS

December 16.—Senator Paul Doumer is named as French Finance Minister, succeeding Painlevé and Caillaux.

December 17.—Dr. Erich Koch fails to form a new German Cabinet, and Chancellor Luther continues in office until the Reichstag reassembles.

The Swiss Confederation elects Henri Haeberlin as President for 1926.

December 18.—Premier Baldwin, in the House of Commons, admits that the Government plan of remedying the housing shortage has broken down and that there are 500,000 new homes needed.

The Czechoslovakian Parliament breaks into a riot when Premier Svehla attempts to read the program of his new Cabinet; the Opposition is composed of German Nationalists, Communists, and Slovaks.

December 19.—The Italian Parliament adjourns for the Christmas holidays with reports that Premier Mussolini intends to proclaim a new Italian empire in 1926 with the sanction of the King.

December 22.—The British Parliament adjourns until February 2.

December 28.—The cultivation of marihuana, a drug-producing plant, is prohibited in Mexico.

January 1.—The English Law of Property Act takes effect, reforming all tenures of land to simple absolute freehold and leasehold.

January 2.—The Political Bureau of the Russian Communist party is reorganized; Leon B. Kameneff and G. Y. Sokolnikoff are defeated and the following are elected: Leon Trotzky, Clemen Voroshiloff, G. S. Zinovieff, M. Molotoff, Joseph Stalin, Michael Kalenin, N. Bucharin, A. I. Rykoff, and M. Tomsy. Premier Mussolini creates a Royal Academy of Italy to be composed of three groups of scientists, artists, and literatti, numbering twenty each.

January 3.—Gen. T. H. Pangalos, the Greek Premier, assumes a dictatorship.

Premier Tsankoff of Bulgaria resigns and King Boris delegates Andre Liaptcheff, a Macedonian, to form a new ministry.

January 4.—Premier General Pangalos of Greece forbids general parliamentary elections, saying the troubles of his country are due to politicians.

January 6.—The Russian Soviet Government assigns 400,000 acres of additional land in the Don district for Jewish colonization.

January 8.—The Canadian Parliament opens at Ottawa, with a sharp fight on whether the Mackenzie King administration shall be continued.

Mexican bandits massacre fifty persons on a railroad train near Yurecuaro, Michoacan, for-eigners are unharmed, though robbed.

January 11.—Hernando Siles, new President of Bolivia, announces a Cabinet headed by Alberto Gutierrez as Foreign Minister.

January 12.—Mexican Federal troops exterminate most of the band of train robbers.

January 14.—The Nicaraguan President, Carlos Solazano, resigns after a year in office.

## VI. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

December 15.—The League Council decides the Anglo-Turkish border dispute over Mosul; Iraq gains the Mosul region to the Brussels line.

December 16.—Britain accepts the Irak mandate decision, involving Mosul boundaries.

December 17.—Russia concludes a three-year treaty with Turkey.

December 19.—Señor Augustin Edwards is reported to have resigned as Chilean head of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscitary Commission.

December 21.—The British House of Commons approves the Mosul award by vote of 239 to 4, after Labor members leave in protest.

January 9.—The United States protests to Mexico against features of the new laws regarding land and petroleum, as inimical to American rights.

January 12.—International jurists meet at Geneva to begin codification of international law.

President Coolidge appoints Gen. William Lassiter as head of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscite Commission, General Pershing returning to Washington because of ill health.

## VII. IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS

December 15.—At a meeting of 500 architects, contractors, and builders in New York City, leading financial experts warn of a crisis due to excessive building of apartments and industrial structures.

December 16.—At the Pan American Commercial Congress, in New York, Mr. Frederic Hudd, Canadian Trade Commissioner in the United States, announces that Canada wishes to be considered henceforth as one of the Pan American Nations.

December 17.—Trade figures for Russia show 1925 imports of \$102,000,000 from United States, three times as much in value as in pre-Soviet days; cotton imports are \$50,000,000, grain and foods \$33,000,000, and machinery \$14,000,000.

December 18.—The Polish Government arranges for Dr. E. W. Kemmerer, noted economist of Princeton, to become its financial adviser.

December 19.—Business and manufacturing leaders in France propose a plan to relieve national finances; the proposal may extend to sale of state property of no historical or artistic value, and exploitation of colonies by private concerns with state share in profits.

December 22.—Secretary Hoover starts a movement for conservation in the tire industry; he says foreign rubber interests are getting \$700,000,000 more than a fair price for the 1925 supply.

December 29.—At a coal conference in New York, Alvan Markle submits a plan for settlement that emphasizes the public interest in cessation of costly and unnecessary militant tactics.

January 6.—Senator Henry Berenger, the new French Ambassador, leaves Paris for Washington to negotiate a war debt settlement.

January 7.—Railway workers and representatives agree on a plan for ending strikes; the Labor Board would be abolished.

The United States protests custom increases in Turkey on American imports, amounting to eight times the duty on goods of other countries protected by commercial treaties.

January 8.—The Interior Department recommends the writing off of \$14,317,150 as a deficit from nineteen federal reclamation projects.

January 12.—The coal strike conference ends, after two weeks of bickering, without success.

The Rubber Association of America decides to begin the production of rubber, in areas under American control; the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce also organizes manufacturers for production and purchase of rubber.

January 14.—Rhine and Ruhr steel companies form a \$150,000,000 merger at Essen, as the United Steel Works.

An Italo-British war debt conference is begun.

Secretary Hoover publishes 1925 trade figures; exports \$4,908,743,250, an increase of \$417,759,414; imports, \$4,224,225,062, increasing \$614,263,483; the favorable trade balance is \$684,517,297.

## VIII. RELIGIOUS EVENTS

December 17.—Pope Pius XI confers the red hat on Cardinals Eustachio Illundain y Esteban, Archbishop of Seville, Vincenzo Casanova y Marzol, of Granada, Patrick O'Donnell of Armagh, Alessandro Verde, Secretary of the Congregation of Rites, and Enrico Gasparri, former Nuncio in Brazil.

December 23.—Pope Pius addresses an encyclical to all Catholic Bishops, instituting a new festival day called the Feast of the Kingdom of Christ.

December 24.—The Pope ends Holy Year.

December 30.—Bishop Manning, of New York, declares to college men that there is nothing inherently wrong with recreation on the Sabbath if it does not interfere with religious duties. (See page 204).

January 3.—The Jewish Zionist organization



refuses to accept the resignation of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise as chairman.

January 8.—Mgr. Edward A. Mooney, of Maryland, is appointed Apostolic Delegate to India, the first American to receive such high honor.

January 10.—The Newman Club Convention ends its annual session, with an address by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler who says "we must learn the great lesson of tolerance—and teach it to others."

### IX. OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 22.—The population of New York City is estimated by State census authorities at 5,873,356, an increase of 253,308 in five years; the State population, outside of the metropolis, is 5,288,795, an increase of 523,616.

December 26.—An American opera composed by W. Franke Harling and sung in English, with instrumentation for saxophone and banjo, is received with tremendous acclaim at Chicago; the opera is "A Light From St. Agnes."

December 28.—The American Association for the Advancement of Science holds its session at Kansas City, with a notable address by Dr. J. McKeen Cattell on "Some Psychological Experiments."

December 29.—Floods and heavy rains inundate Western Europe, and hundreds of lives are lost.

December 31.—The New York City births during 1925 are announced as lowest in the city's history, declining from 130,436 in 1924 to 128,790; death rate is 11.49.

January 2.—The American Law Institute delegates Dean William E. Mikkell and Prof. Edwin R. Keedy of Philadelphia to draft a model criminal code.

January 7.—The leading dramatists of America agree on a basic contract to protect themselves, as playwrights, against unfairness by theater managers.

January 10.—The annual automobile show opens at New York with conferences by the second World Motor Transport Congress.

January 13.—At Wilburton, Okla., an explosion in a coal mine kills nearly a hundred men.

### X. OBITUARY

December 15.—Rear Admiral Robert Morris Doyle, U. S. N. retired, 72. . . . Thomas Jondrie Vivian, author and editor, 78. . . . Sir Richard Douglas Powell, British King's Physician, 83.

December 16.—Dr. Jonathan Ackerman Coles, of New Jersey, noted surgeon and art collector, 82. . . . Dr. James W. Taylor, well-known freemason, of Georgia, 72.

December 17.—Sir George Stegmann Bibb, London subway director, 75. . . . Albert Neilson Hornby, well-known English cricket player, 78.

December 18.—Alvah Norton Belding, Connecticut silk manufacturer, 86. . . . Pierre Imbart de la Tour, French historian, 65.

December 19.—Sir William Hamo Thornycroft, Royal Academician and sculptor, 75. . . . Sir Paul Gavrilovitch Vinogradoff, noted British jurist and author, 71.

December 20.—Lt. Com. Henry Reuter Dahl, U. S. N. R., noted naval and marine artist, 54. . . . Professor Edward Sylvester Morse, zoologist and scientist, 87.

December 21.—Senator Jules Meline, French politician and Premier during the Dreyfus affair, 87. . . . Dr. James Murie, noted British naturalist, 95.

December 22.—Frank Andrew Munsey, the newspaper and magazine publisher, 71.

December 24.—John Severinus Conway, artist and sculptor, 73.

December 26.—Rear-Adm. Caspar Frederick Goodrich, U. S. A., retired, 78.

December 27.—Judge George E. Samuels, of California Superior Court, 67. . . . Jules Patenotre, former French Ambassador at Washington, 80. . . . Henry McCoy Norris, mechanical engineer, 77.

December 28.—Rear-Adm. Raymond Perry Rodgers, U. S. N., retired, 76. . . . Charles D. Parker, former Governor of Wisconsin, 98.

December 29.—Dame Louisa Aldrich-Blake, British surgeon, 60. . . . John Kirby, Jr., former president of National Association of Manufacturers, 75.

December 30.—Rear-Adm. Giles Bates Harber, U. S. N., retired, 76.

December 31.—Prof. William Otis Crosby, geologist and author, 75. . . . Rear-Adm. Edwin Putman, U. S. N., retired, 85.

January 1.—Sir John Merry Le Sage, London editor, 89.

January 2.—Maj.-Gen. William H. Hart, Quartermaster General of United States Army, 61. . . . Harry Humphrey Moore, American painter, 81.

January 3.—Emmet Derby Boyle, former Governor of Nevada, 46.

January 4.—Queen Margherita, mother of King Victor Emmanuel III, of Italy, 75.

January 5.—Maj.-Gen. Robert Bruce McCoy, of Wisconsin, 58. . . . Rev. Dr. Harvey A. Weller, Pennsylvania Lutheran leader, 67.

January 6.—Charles Edgar Welch, New York beverage manufacturer, 73. . . . Rt. Rev. John Phillips Allcot Bowers, English Bishop and Mason, 17.

January 7.—Rear-Adm. Albert Bower Willits, U. S. N., retired, 74.

January 8.—Thomas Nash, architect, 65. . . . Rev. William Marion Weekley, Bishop Emeritus of United Brethren Church, noted West Virginian, 74. . . . Lewis Rogers Atwood, of Kentucky, former member of War Industries Board, 65.

January 9.—David Leventritt, former New York Supreme Court Justice, 80.

January 10.—Joel Hurt, Sr., Georgia capitalist, 75.

January 11.—Dr. John M. Lee, noted surgeon and radium expert, 73.

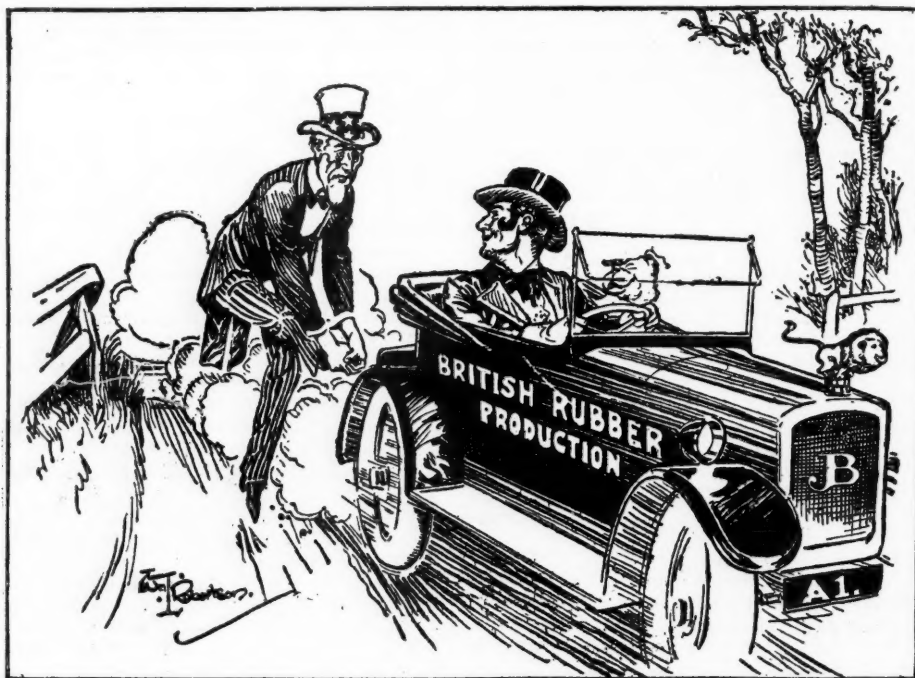
January 12.—Egerton Leigh Winthrop, lawyer and former president of the Board of Education in New York, 64. . . . Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans, 61. . . . Melzar Hunt Mosman, sculptor and designer, 81. . . . Sir Austin Chapman, former Australian Minister of Health, 61. . . . Guido Manasci, Italian author, 58.

January 13.—Lieut.-Gen. August Keim, German militarist, 80. . . . Dr. Martin Murphy, Canadian civil engineer, 93.

January 14.—Henry Newton Sheldon, noted Boston jurist, 82. . . . "Black Hawk Bill" Rowe, former scout for Custer, 75. . . . Solomon Blum, California economist, 43. . . . René Boylesvè, French novelist and Academician.

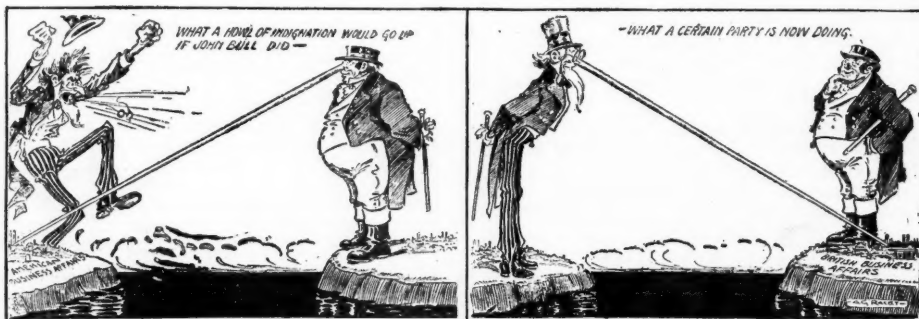
# RUBBER—POLITICS—COAL

THE STORY OF A MONTH IN CARTOONS



**UNCLE SAM FEELS THE PINCH**

JOHN BULL: "My sympathy, Jonathan. I often feel the pinch myself, especially when paying War Debts!"  
From *News of the World* (London, England)



**NOSING INTO OTHER PEOPLE'S AFFAIRS**

From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

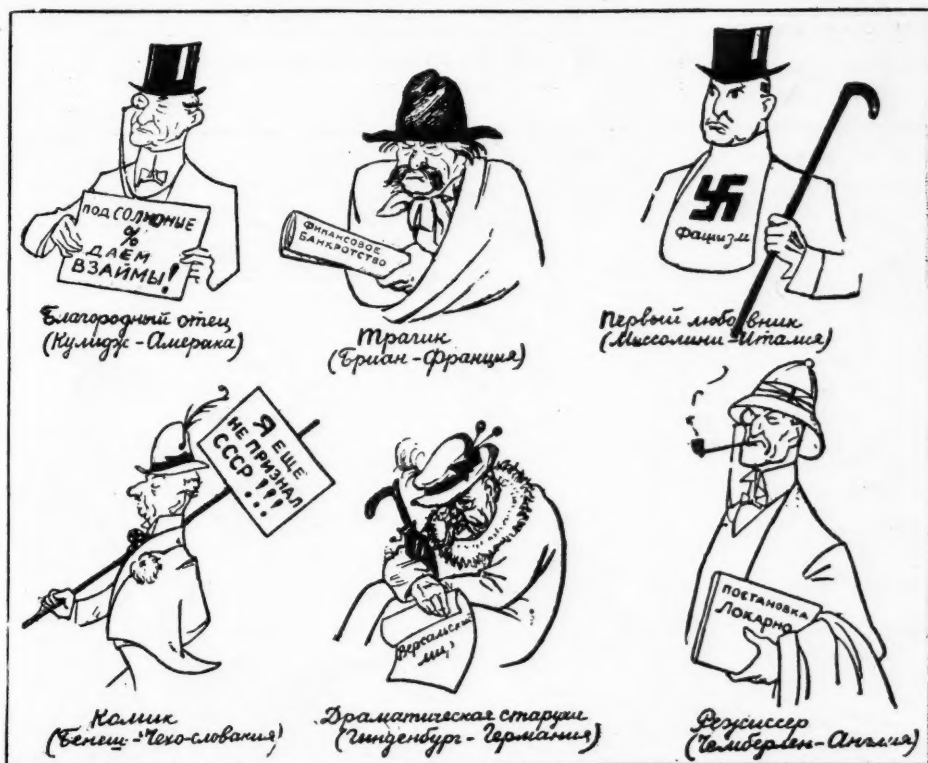
[Canadian comment upon Uncle Sam's interest in Britain's rubber monopoly]



"CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR APPOINTMENT AS MINISTER OF FINANCES!"

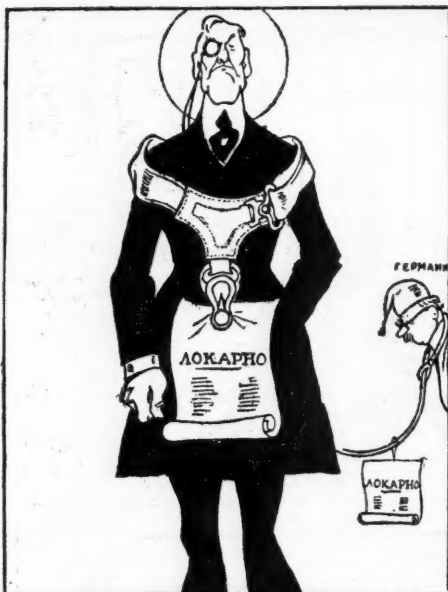
From *Canard Enchaîné* (Paris, France)

[To appreciate this cartoon the reader has only to recall that the Finance Minister of France—Caillaux and Loucheur for example—has no reason to expect other than a brief and stormy term of service]



CHARACTERS ON THE WORLD'S STAGE—AS SEEN IN RUSSIA—From *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)

[First, in the upper row, is President Coolidge, with a placard reading: "I make loans on solid security." France's Premier, Briand, is next, in the rôle of bankrupt. Then comes Mussolini of Italy, as a dandy. In the lower row is Benes of Czechoslovakia, carrying a banner: "I haven't recognized Russia yet." Next is Hindenburg, German President, as a forlorn old lady holding the Versailles peace treaty. At the right is Chamberlain, British Foreign Minister, manager of the whole show]



As a result of Locarno, Britain's Foreign Minister, Chamberlain, receives the Order of the Garter, and Germany is awarded the noose



Germany is "promoted" into the League of Nations, the British policeman, Austen Chamberlain, officiating in the ceremony

#### CURRENT RUSSIAN CARTOONS ON ENGLAND AND GERMANY

From *Izvestia*, of Moscow



#### GOVERNMENT BY PREMIERS IN FRANCE

ITALY (for five years governed by Mussolini): "What a silly game to play at; and to think I did the same thing for years!"

From *Il Trattato* (Rome, Italy)





#### THE FRENCH MARIANNE IN A RATHER CRITICAL SITUATION

(Not so bad if the tree [the Briand ministry] holds)

From *Le Rive* (Paris, France)



#### FAT UNCLE SAM TO POOR EUROPE

(America believes that it would not be good for Europeans to be relieved of their debts)

From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)

THE French journal sees hope for its country only in Premier Briand. The Scotch newspaper shows Uncle Sam in a benevolent spirit, handing pamphlets to

poverty-stricken Europeans, while the Dutch paper finds something to commend. The fourth cartoon shows Japan embarrassed by ever-increasing numbers.



#### TAX REDUCTION: UNCLE SAM SHOWS THE WAY

From *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



#### HOLDING TIGHT; A TALE OF OVERCROWDING IN JAPAN

From the *Trans-Pacific* (Tokyo)



### THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO HOOVER

[American aluminum and British rubber monopolies]

From the *World* © (New York)



### STRETCHING OUR FRIENDSHIP

From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

Enormous increases in the price of crude rubber have brought about a situation in international trade which is far from satisfactory. The facts of the situation, and their bearings, are set forth in two articles in this issue, beginning of page 163. There is a Congressional investigation already under way. The price of rubber has ad-

vanced even more rapidly than that of coal under strike conditions. The Senate has been laboring with tax reduction and indulging in World Court debate, while the House has been considering relief for corn farmers burdened with a surplus crop selling at less than the cost of production. "Corn belt" distress is discussed on page 159.



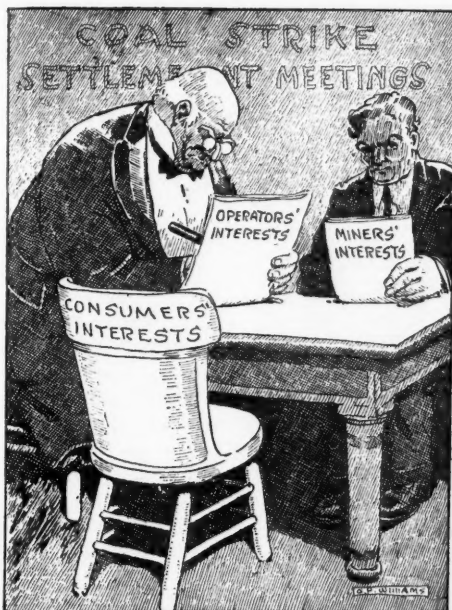
### ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY AMERICAN TO DO HIS DUTY

From the *Journal* (Kansas City, Mo.)



### UP TO THE OLD PARTISAN TRICKS

From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



## THE VACANT CHAIR

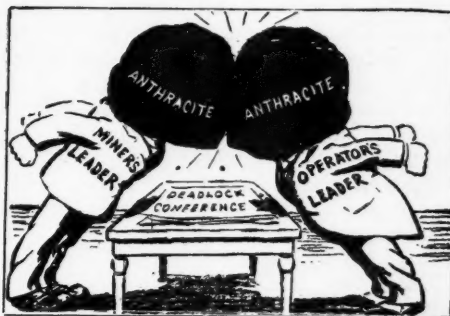
From the American © (New York)

[Representatives of the striking anthracite coal miners and of the operators met in New York last month, and for two weeks sought to reach a settlement of the strike which has lasted for five months and threatens to ruin the industry as well as to cause great hardship among consumers. The American calls attention to the fact that the public was not represented at the conference table. When the meeting disbanded, on January 12, complete failure to agree was admitted.]



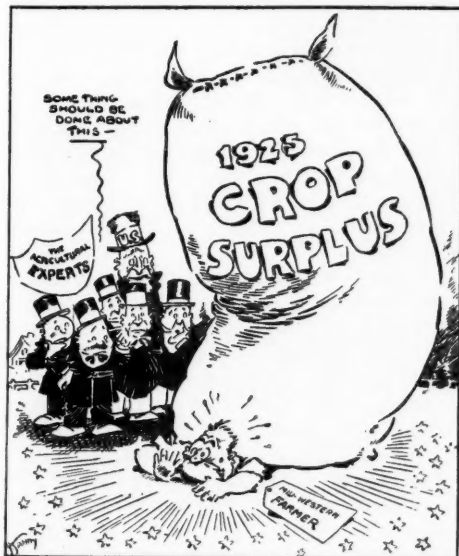
## LITTLE JACK HORNER IN THE SENATE

By Berryman, in the Star (Washington, D. C.)



## HARD-HEADED

By Harding, in the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



## SOMETHING SHOULD BE DONE—BUT WHAT?

From the Inquirer (Philadelphia, Pa.)



## TO BE FOUGHT OUT ON THESE LINES

From the Sentinel (Milwaukee, Wis.)

# A NEW LEADER IN FINANCE: CLARENCE DILLON

BY FRANK J. WILLIAMS

**S**PECTACULAR deals in Wall Street never fail to attract widespread attention because so few people know anything of the intricacies of high finance. To the general public "Wall Street" always will be symbolic of stupendous fortunes won and lost; it is the home of mystery and of romance. It seems that there is an inexhaustible supply of anecdotes of the lives of such Wall Street giants as Gould, Vanderbilt, Gates, Harriman, Schiff and Morgan.

And now a new figure has joined the long procession of men who have made Wall Street famous—Clarence Dillon. By the magnitude of his deals he threatens to eclipse all his predecessors. Because of his youth, and his rapid rise, Clarence Dillon's career perhaps possesses more of the ingredients of romance than many of the "Napoleons" of finance of the last century. Moreover his bid for fame is predicated on his daring operations in the most conservative of professions, banking; and not on a quick turn of fortune's wheel in any of the markets. He has not cornered anything and he has not waged war against any other "interests."

This latest man of achievement to cross the Wall Street stage is not an operator or a manipulator in any sense of the words. With all his daring it has yet to be proved that he has done anything that is inconsistent with the highest standards of banking. Later on I will show that Dillon's remarkable success is based solely on faith, courage and a fixed purpose. It has been the triumph of thoroughness. Moreover, in a more dramatic sense, he undoubtedly was the "man of the hour."

## *His First Job—Saving the Goodyear*

Wall Street first realized that it had a new "personality" in its midst in the dark days of 1920. In those days, immediately following the war, courage was at a premium in the business world and pessimism

reigned supreme. Frank Vanderlip had predicted the collapse of Europe and many of our largest corporations were tottering.

During the war American banks and American corporations had enjoyed unparalleled prosperity with little thought and effort on the part of executives. Men at the head of big corporations, trained in the soft days of the war, were not fit to cope with the stern conditions after the war. Several Wall Street bank presidents lost their heads and were sent back into obscurity. It was a time to try men's souls and only the fearless dared to move one step forward.

The Goodyear Rubber Company was in serious difficulties and a receivership seemed inevitable. Stockholders and investors were faced with heavy losses. None of the leaders in Wall Street displayed a willingness to get mixed up in the affairs of a corporation that seemed to be ready for the graveyard.

Clarence Dillon at that time had been in Wall Street only six years—barely time to get acquainted. Some indication of his ability he had given, when he organized, in 1919, the Steel and Tube Company, capitalized at \$100,000,000, which some years later he merged with six other concerns to form the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company.

An appeal to save the Goodyear Company was made to this raw banking recruit from the West and he listened. He was told that it would be necessary, under any circumstances, to wipe out the accrual benefits on the dividends on the preferred stock. "If that is done," said Dillon, "I'll have nothing to do with the reorganization." With the entire country against him Dillon assumed the leadership in the reorganization of the Goodyear Company. The operation involved the raising of \$100,000,000 of new capital at a time when capital was most timid. The plan was



successful. The Goodyear Company was saved and the securities offered then have more than doubled in value. The company to-day is making profits of \$17,000,000 or \$18,000,000 a year.

A job well done does not go unnoticed in Wall Street, where there is plenty of room for men at the top. There are plenty of brilliant men in Wall Street but only once in a generation or so does a leader arise worthy of front-page newspaper space. From the date of the successful reorganization of the Goodyear Company Dillon's rise has been rapid. All the hard financial nuts were brought for him to crack.

#### *Handling Foreign Loans*

In 1921 Dillon, Read & Company dared to cut out a piece of business from under the noses of the greatest bankers in the world, the English Rothschilds. While the English bankers were haggling over terms Clarence Dillon stepped in and undertook to market a loan of \$50,000,000 to Brazil. The following year the firm handled a loan of 150,000,000 guilders for the Government of The Netherlands, the first loan of any such amount in American funds in terms of the currency of the borrowing country.

In the midst of the agitation over Japanese immigration in 1924 Clarence Dillon and his partners underwrote and sold \$15,000,000 bonds of the Great Consolidated Electric Power Company Ltd.—the first time a Japanese enterprise of this character had been financed in this country. Between times he had underwritten and sold \$40,000,000 of the stock of the American and Foreign Power Company.

In 1924 Dillon restored to American control the Union Oil Company of Califor-

nia through the purchase from the Royal Dutch oil interests of England of 26 per cent. of the \$250,000,000 common stock. Then followed in rapid succession loans to Poland, France, Germany and South American countries. In refinancing German industry Dillon, Read & Company have been most active, offering here loans to the great Siemens and Thyssen enterprises, among others, and purchasing some of the properties of the Hugo Stinnes group.

#### *From Motors to Cash Register*

Last year the magnitude of Dillon's deals surpassed anything that had gone before. In May of 1925 Clarence Dillon startled the world by purchasing the Dodge Brothers motor interests, lock, stock and barrel, for \$146,000,000 cash. The purchase price was paid with one check drawn on the Central Union Trust Company.

In August of last year the Seaboard Air Line Company switched from its old bankers to Dillon, Read & Company and was able

to finance successfully some large extension work in Florida. When Henry L. Doherty wanted to undertake new financing through an outside banking house—the first time in the history of that great public utility organization—he went to Clarence Dillon.

The latest and not the least sensational deal Clarence Dillon has put through was the sale, a few weeks ago, of 1,100,000 shares of common stock of The National Cash Register Company, the largest common stock sale on record. The entire issue was sold in a few hours, illustrating the tremendous following Clarence Dillon has attracted among the public in a few years.

In current reports Clarence Dillon has been named as the backer of a freight subway in London, of a loan to Russian in-



MR. CLARENCE DILLON, THE NEW YORK BANKER

terests, of a consolidation of German steel properties on the model of the United States Steel Corporation and of a large consolidation of New York banks. His transactions, undoubtedly, have broken Wall Street records. It is estimated that his firm has underwritten some \$2,000,000,000 of new securities in five years.

### *Early Life*

The steps that led Mr. Dillon to Wall Street were simple and undesigned. He had no thought of a financial career and little taste for life in New York City. A simple, family man, he preferred to live his life in the Middle West, where he was fairly well established.

Clarence Dillon was born in San Antonio, Texas, of parents who were not wealthy, perhaps, but in easy circumstances. He was given a sound education and, while a student at Worcester Academy in Massachusetts, he met William A. Phillips, now one of Dillon's principal partners and a man who figures importantly in the story of the banker.

The two were room-mates at Harvard and, their college work finished, they parted. Clarence Dillon returned to the West and Phillips sought a career in Wall Street. Clarence Dillon married and sailed for Europe, where he stayed for two years with some thought of studying art. On his return to America he had to start pretty much on his own and he went to work in a junior capacity for the Newport Mining Company and the Milwaukee Coke and Gas Company. His next step was to join his brother-in-law, George A. Douglass, in the manufacture of machinery. They founded the Milwaukee Machine Tool Company, which grew into a prosperous business. The business was sold and Clarence Dillon journeyed to Wall Street to invest his share of the profits.

### *Becomes a Banker*

He met his old school chum, Phillips, on a downtown corner. Phillips was then with the old firm of William A. Read & Co. "You should be a banker," said Phillips, "come over and meet Mr. Read." A meeting was arranged and Clarence Dillon and William A. Read were soon fast friends. Mr. Read tried on several occasions to persuade Dillon to come into the firm and study banking. It was finally arranged that Dillon would give it a trial. "I never had

less intention of becoming a banker than on that day," says Mr. Dillon. "Banking meant less to me than most things, although I had a fairly thorough experience in business and knew something about investments."

The Read organization at that time lacked adequate facilities for the distribution of its securities. Clarence Dillon devised a workable plan which was put into operation successfully. It was in the spring of 1914 that Dillon decided to stay in New York. Two years later, at the age of thirty-four, he was made a partner in the firm. The same day William A. Read was stricken with a fatal illness from which he died six days later.

Here is where Dame Rumor begins to take a hand. A story current in the Street was to the effect that Clarence Dillon, at a partners' meeting, said: "Gentlemen, I have brought in 85 per cent. of the business here and henceforth the name of the firm shall be Dillon, Read & Company. Those who do not like the arrangement can withdraw."

The truth is that the partners in the firm realized the value of having a man at the helm with a marked personality. They talked it over among themselves and elected Clarence Dillon their captain. Dillon already had been given the stamp of approval of several of Wall Street's leaders. During the World War Bernard M. Baruch singled him out to be a member of the War Industries Board and in 1917 invited him to Washington. Such men as Henry P. Davison and Jacob H. Schiff likewise had pronounced early judgments upon the future development of Wall Street's young banker.

A man cannot get ahead of the pack as Dillon has done without treading on the toes of some of the former leaders. Many of the men he has left behind have waited impatiently for him to overreach himself. To those ignorant of Clarence Dillon's true character it seemed that his career was of the hit-or-miss type, depending on chance, or luck, for success. He has been pictured as a daring man of steel nerves plunging ahead regardless of the rules prescribed by former leaders in the Street.

As a matter of fact few Wall Street houses go so thoroughly into business deals. Clarence Dillon is not playing long shots. He accepts only one offer in ten and only undertakes about one deal in five he investigates.

### *Painstaking Methods*

The public heard of the Dodge deal overnight, but it took eight months for Dillon, Read & Company to round out the transaction. In these investigations hundreds of trained men are employed. Few deals handled by Clarence Dillon are concluded with less than three months' preparation. The National Cash Register financing was put through in five weeks under forced pressure. The entire time of thirty trained members of the staff of Dillon, Read & Company was put into the work. Before the bankers signed the contract men were sent far and wide, even to Europe, to interview the users of cash registers.

Mr. Dillon's outstanding trait is thoroughness. One of his Harvard classmates said: "If Clarence Dillon wanted to buy a cow he would read up everything on cows and before he closed the deal he would know more about the animal than the farmer himself." It is not unusual for Mr. Dillon to turn back an entire deal to be worked out all over again if he is not satisfied. If one of his partners has an objection or a premonition in connection with a deal Dillon refuses to go ahead with it. It is an accepted fact in Wall Street that the circulars issued by Dillon are the most complete.

### *Recreations*

Mr. Dillon obviously has a decided predilection for banking, but in his tastes and habits he leans heavily toward the artistic. He is an irregular timekeeper and in some respects he is a hedonist. He works hard, with tireless energy, when he has to, but he does not believe it necessary to sacrifice all his days on the altar of achievement.

Dillon is fond of travel, reading and music. He delights to take his young son Clarence Douglass into the wilderness on fishing and hunting trips. His family life is simple and his home, which he has never changed since the day he came to New York, might be the home of a literary man, an artist or a professor. The tables are strewn with books and the walls thickly adorned with etchings and prints.

President Wilson once said that "some men grow and others swell." Friends of Clarence Dillon say that he has become simpler and less assuming in proportion to his success. At college he was known as a quiet, bookish man who rarely participated in the more boisterous pleasures of his

fellow students. He preferred the library, the theater and the country to the club.

In this he has changed but little and his friends say that the Clarence Dillon of today is the Clarence Dillon of his freshman year. At one time head of the debating society at college, Dillon has never lost the art of persuasion. One secret of his power is his ability to bring harmony out of discord. Few hostile spirits can withstand his efforts to bring about peace and good fellowship, it is said.

Clarence Dillon is always interesting and he is a charming companion but a man of his reserve and dignity is certain to go through life loved by a small circle of friends and misunderstood by many. His circle of friends is limited by the wide range of his own intellectuality. His type of mind works faster than the average; a mind naturally suspicious that takes nothing for granted.

Dillon's habitual expression of gravity often is mistaken for austerity but in contact with him one finds that he is courteous, enthusiastic and full of creative ideas; a good man to talk with and a good man to think with. He is liked by the more serious-minded.

### *His Choice of Associates*

A good judge of men, Dillon has made no mistakes in his choice of partners in business. He gives full credit to the active young men who are helping him. When Dillon picked E. G. Wilmer, a young junior officer in a steel concern at thirty-five, to run the reorganized Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, there was some hesitation about accepting him because he knew nothing about the rubber business. If a man is good in one line he will be good in another, said Dillon. Once an executive always an executive. At the age of thirty-seven Wilmer has so far proved himself that he was made chairman of the board of directors and more recently he was admitted to partnership in the Dillon firm.

The country can reap only benefit from banker ownership, according to Clarence Dillon, as the public is thus assured of a champion in the councils of corporations.

Clarence Dillon arrived at the psychological moment in Wall Street history. The war so far expanded the scope of the financial center of the United States that old methods had to be put aside and old ideas revamped. Old leaders were bewildered and the spirit of youth was needed.

# AMERICA GOES TO GENEVA

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. Washington Tendencies

**W**HILE the past month has shown no startling development either in foreign affairs directly or in American relations thereto, there is no overlooking the fact that a tendency long noted beneath the surface is beginning to disclose itself unmistakably on the top of our political waters. Not only is it now patent that the Senate is going to follow the President's recommendation and take us into the World Court, but also it is clear that Congress is ready to give its assent to our presence at the forthcoming Arms Conference in Europe, the preliminary sessions of which will take place at Geneva this month.

We are, then, facing something which, if it would be an exaggeration to call it a complete change in attitude toward Europe, represents a modification. Still rather insistently protesting against any suggestion that we are moving toward an ultimate, much less an immediate, entrance into the League of Nations, Congress, even the Senate, is responding to what it conceives to be a popular reaction against a policy of extreme isolation which has obtained since the defeat of Mr. Wilson's whole Paris program.

But if this relative change in view is conceded, and I think it must be, then very wide horizons open immediately. With the significance of our entrance into the world court I shall not undertake to deal here, mainly because adherence will, in itself, be a definite action which will automatically close the discussion. With respect of participation in the Arms Conference, however, the case is slightly different, for it is probable that the whole character of our attitude toward and relation with Europe may be affected by what happens when the Arms Conference assembles—that is, the real conference, not the preliminary February meeting, which has only to agree upon the agenda.

Broadly speaking, then, we are setting out again on a great adventure in inter-

national conference, the third in the last seven years, counting the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Arms Conference. Of the two the first represented a complete defeat for the Americans who negotiated, a limited defeat in Europe when the other nations present there rejected Mr. Wilson's effort to impose American solutions upon Europeans, an absolute defeat when the American Senate refused to ratify the Treaty as signed at Versailles.

By contrast, there remains a disposition in this country to regard the Washington Conference as an absolute success, although agreement was reached only in the matter of battleships and deadlock and failure marked the attempts to limit the number of cruisers and submarines or effectively to modify by prohibition the weapons to be used in future wars. Again, there has been and remains a profound ignorance on this side of the water of the degree to which European rivalries were accentuated by the American episode and of the evil consequences for Europe which followed.

The failure of Mr. Wilson with respect of his Paris experiment came primarily from his profound belief in the wickedness of politicians and in the righteousness of the masses of the European people. He went to Paris convinced that he had but to set forth his principles, embodied in the Fourteen Points, and wherever European statesmen rejected these principles and sought to serve those of their own, all that was necessary to do was to appeal to the peoples of the respective nations over the heads of their statesmen and the statesmen would be confounded and driven from power.

In reality, whenever issues arose involving national interests the peoples of the respective countries not merely supported their statesmen against Mr. Wilson, but in certain cases insisted that the statesmen continue the opposition. The notorious



uprising of Italian sentiment against Mr. Wilson in the case of Fiume, when he appealed to them over the heads of Sonnino and Orlando; was the shining example of this, but French support of M. Clemenceau in all cases was equally unanimous, if less well indicated by any popular explosion.

In the end Mr. Wilson found himself in this position. He had staked everything upon his League of Nations. He had either to obtain a European acceptance of that proposal or return empty-handed and having failed abroad face a hostile Senate at home. But to obtain European adoption he found, in the end, that he had himself to agree to a whole variety of compromises and conditions which did violence to his original theses and disappointed those of his followers who believed in the possibility of ideal solutions. At the outset Mr. Wilson and all his associates believed he was in a position to dictate to Europe the terms which he desired; in the end he discovered that to get what he must have he was compelled to sign a treaty which represented the will of Europe in the main.

This necessity led promptly to unhappy consequences. When he came back from Europe Mr. Wilson encountered not merely the opposition of the Senate to what he had accomplished, but also he suffered from the defection of those who quite honestly, although wholly incorrectly, believed that Mr. Wilson could have obtained a different kind of treaty if he had stood firm. The Senate opposed the President for the commitments he had made to Europe, the price he had paid positively for the League, but very considerable elements in his former support abandoned him because they regarded him as having sacrificed vital principles.

What was not then or since accurately appreciated in this country was that there never was any possibility that Europe would make an American treaty or that it would accept American views as to its own affairs, that it would abandon interests and beliefs, not to say methods, which were secular, merely because Mr. Wilson insisted. The notion that Mr. Wilson had Joshua's trumpet and that one blast would bring down the walls of the European Jericho was always quite inexact. Not less inexact was Mr. Wilson's conception that even the privation and sacrifice of the war would change the essentially nationalistic views of all peoples, views which represented

centuries of experience and training. In the end Europe remained Europe, European ideas prevailed in the making of the treaties, as they were always bound to, and we rejected the treaty in the same fashion for American reasons.

When Secretary Hughes embarked upon the Washington Conference he was perfectly cognizant of the reasons for the failure of Mr. Wilson tactically, if less informed upon the broad reasons incident to European traditions. Accordingly he prepared a program for his conference which was to be free of all excessive and idealistic elements, and to cover solely the wholly practical question of the limitation of naval armaments. And he opened his conference by a specific proposal. We had ships and a program which combined would either make us supreme or impose upon Britain and Japan a competition ruinous to their treasuries. The British desired nothing save to escape a competition which they could not support and at the same time retain an equality upon the blue water. The Japanese wanted political conditions so adjusted as to insure their immunity from interference. If we offered to scrap ships enough to assure British equality, the British were prepared to agree. If we offered to give Japan political conditions which fortified her situation and made her unassailable, she was equally ready to agree. But since both the British and the Japanese discovered that it had become a political necessity for the Harding Administration that the Washington Conference should succeed, both were naturally tempted to sell as high as possible.

Nevertheless, the conference which opened with every promise of material success and every prospect of contributing to international amity, was hardly under way when there suddenly broke out a conflict between the British, American and French points of view which at one time threatened to wreck everything and in the end restricted all achievement to the bare limitation in the number of battleships and the size of cruisers.

What was the cause of the uproar? Simply that Great Britain and France were at that moment engaged in quarrels all over the world and each had come to Washington with the definite purpose to enlist for their cause the very powerful aid of the United States. When, moreover, Mr. Balfour, as he then was, by supreme

skill managed to achieve solidarity of the American and British thesis, then the French lost interest in the conference and became a fatal element of opposition.

Mr. Hughes then reverted to the Wilsonian view, namely, that the force of public opinion in the world would stand behind him and that the French public opinion would follow the same line. So he appealed to Briand over the heads of Sarraut and Viviani, who had remained there. What was the result? Briand agreed to accept the ratio as to battle-ships, but his agreement was in fact his political death warrant, for France, so far from rallying to the Hughes thesis, merely assumed that British diplomacy had triumphed over French in getting American support.

What followed is obscure to most Americans. M. Briand went to Cannes even before the Washington Conference had adjourned. While he was in conference with Lloyd George, Poincaré and Millerand in Paris overthrew him. And one of the grounds which was successfully cited was the Briand failure in Washington. Thus the Washington Conference, actually called to contribute to the limitation of naval armaments, did in fact cause the overthrow of Briand, the coming of Poincaré, and shortly after the occupation of the Ruhr.

But even before the Ruhr, France took

her review at Genoa, where Poincaré successfully reversed the Washington situation and scored all along the line against Lloyd George. The failure of the Genoa Conference, which was the first in the series of disasters that 1922-23 had for Europe, was the immediate consequence of what occurred in Washington.

I have dwelt upon these episodes of past history for the simple reason that on the eve of a new and similar experiment it seems to me that there should be a clear American appreciation of the difficulties which lie in the way of any real achievement at an international conference and the peculiar pitfalls which beset the pathway of American delegations, whose attention is more often fixed upon some abstract conception, some set of academic principles, rather than upon the realities of European statesmanship and diplomacy.

Rarely, very rarely, are American and European delegates thinking of the same thing, much less in the same way. This is not because Americans are more sincere, more honest, more high-minded. Nothing of the sort. It is because it is only on very rare occasions that European statesmen are able to approach any question with an objective and detached point of view, which is almost invariably permitted to the Americans because of their peculiar geographical and political situation.

## II. At Geneva

Now, looking forward to Geneva, it is necessary to perceive that we at once face a welter of conflicting interests and views. The familiar American slogan that "the way to disarm is to disarm," is in reality only the ultimate statement of American ignorance of European complexities. Ostensibly meeting to consider the single question of the limitation of armaments, all European countries are coming to Geneva to present peculiar and individual views and to maintain national interest.

Let me illustrate the point, for it is important. Germany, having been disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles and now having only 100,000 soldiers, and these raised by voluntary enlistment, and moreover forbidden under grave penalties to increase her army, is coming to Geneva to advocate that all armies be reduced to her level! To demand that no nation be permitted to have

more troops than would be allotted under an application of the German standard to their own population.

But what does that mean in fact? It means that Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and above all France, would have to abandon their present military establishments, and that Germany would at once gain an overwhelming superiority in numbers over each, France included. The process of disarming France, for instance, would, in effect and by comparison, result in the reestablishment of German military superiority over France. It would mean, too, that France, unlike Germany, having large colonies and at the moment struggling with difficult native insurrections in Morocco and Syria, would be asked to disband her colonial armies or reduce them to a level which would involve the evacuation of Morocco and Syria alike.

Nevertheless, if one suppose that the American delegation went to Geneva with a program for disarmament, which sought to express the American idea as to standing armies, nothing is more certain than that its thesis would be instantly adopted by the Germans, and we should be thrown against the French, the Italians, the Poles, the Czechs, the Rumanians, the Yugoslavs. Our championship of what for us was an abstract principle would result in making us a combatant in a European dispute which had the most concrete bearing upon Franco-German relations, for example.

Take another and more familiar case. The British sought at Washington, they have sought since and they are bound to continue to seek, to bring about a banning of the submarine. The explanation lies in the fact that the submarine weapon almost brought about their ruin during the late war, and may prove equally dangerous in any new struggle. As long as it can be employed, British security, which was once absolute, is compromised. To abolish the submarine, then, is to give Britain new protection in case of war, to enable her to face war and to fight a war, with a larger degree of immunity from danger.

It is perfectly true and absolutely natural that the Briton, recalling 1917, should regard the abolition of the submarine as the one really useful achievement of any arms conference. There is nothing hypocritical about his position, yet the fact is that the abolition of the submarine would not constitute an actual contribution to disarmament. It would only restore British supremacy in war, which was compromised when the submarine came. Yet nothing is more inevitable than that the Briton will seek to persuade the American to join him against the submarine, or more probably to father an attack upon the submarine which he can support, thus maneuvering us into the position of serving a British interest, as the German must seek to maneuver us to adopt a German cause in the matter of disarmament applied to land forces.

But Italy, France, Japan, other and smaller states, which regard the submarine as peculiarly the weapon available for the defense of their interest afloat, are sure to stand firm against any such campaign. The Frenchman is going to see in the German crusade for complete disarmament down to the German level, no more than an attempt to escape from the con-

sequences of defeat and to regain a superiority in numbers over France. The Italian is similarly bound to see in the British campaign against the submarine the attempt to deprive him of the only means of asserting any naval independence in his own home waters dominated by Gibraltar and Malta and commanded by the British Mediterranean fleet.

For the United States the question of the limitation of naval armaments is purely practical, while we have already limited our army to the point of semi-extinction. But for every European country the question of the reduction of the army or the navy is essentially political. It is only when a whole series of political questions has been adjusted that the reduction of armies or fleets to conform to the changed political situation can take place. The size of a European army—no matter what army—is not determined either by accident or by the presence of any temporary or permanent state of militarism or chauvinism. It is exactly conditioned upon the expert and technical estimate of the nation's dangers.

For us the question of the reduction of army or navy is an absolute question. We think of it in the form of an order to disband so many thousand troops or scrap so many ships. For Europe it is impossible to think of cutting down an army by a division until there has been eliminated a proportionate amount of danger or acquired an equal amount of protection. On the other hand every European nation has a justifiably selfish reason for favoring some form of disarmament which will reduce the strength of a rival and not affect its own strength.

Thus Europe has always and will always seek to exploit the abstract conceptions we Americans have—abstract because they have no direct concern for us—to its own advantage. Take the celebrated case of Fiume. It was not that Britain and France accepted everywhere the principle of the right of a state like Yugoslavia to a free exit on the sea. On the contrary, the British were openly opposed to giving the Poles the Corridor. But both were opposed to Italian possession of Fiume, and both appealed to a relevant point in Mr. Wilson's Fourteen, to embarrass the Italians. And the fury of the Italians largely sprang from the fact that they well knew that both the British and the French were rejecting this particular point all over Asia and Africa, as well as Europe, and only

invoking it here for very definite and selfish reasons.

Then there is the other European circumstance: Mr. Wilson firmly refused to countenance any French annexation or permanent occupation of any German territory for the purpose of insuring French security. But in the end, to bring France to accept his views, he had to promise France an American guarantee against any new German attack. In just the same way every European country which finds itself urged by any American delegation to reduce its armaments will seek to obtain in return an American protection, which of course no delegation could promise.

Mr. Wilson came to grief in Paris, Mr. Hughes in Washington, because both were too sincerely and enthusiastically intent upon the realization of results which were in themselves utterly desirable, to perceive that their enthusiasm and their effort was being exploited to the profit of the particular and individual interests of one country against another. Failure to perceive this fact led to Mr. Wilson's colossal blunder in the case of Italy and to Mr. Hughes's hardly less costly error in the case of France.

American public opinion, with these examples in mind, remains openly suspicious of European diplomacy and inclined to credit Europeans with every form of duplicity and wickedness. Nothing could be more unfair. It is not wickedness but sad necessity which dictates European policy. National policy is based upon national conceptions of security and legitimate self-interest, and European statesmen are no more capable of leading their publics deceitfully than Americans.

An American delegation dealing with a European conference is almost inevitably apt to forget to examine the application of abstract principles to the concrete conditions of the respective countries. Mr. Wilson thought that all European peoples would flock to the cause of all of his Fourteen Points with equal enthusiasm. The fact was that certain of the points were absolutely unacceptable to certain countries, and the representatives of those countries would have been destroyed at home had they accepted them.

Then, as I warned my readers before the Washington Conference four years ago, all Europeans go to an international conference as one goes to a market, not to a missionary meeting; to bargain, not to pray. They go

to protect and advance national interests, and the single progress which may be hoped for must be where all interests are identical or where a system of intricate adjustments can recognize all interests. From the Congress of Berlin, which was to preserve the peace of Europe, Britain brought home Cyprus and France Tunis. Bismarck, with a very keen and exact appreciation of the real character of the transaction, described himself as "the honest broker."

If Europe welcomes us to an arms conference, and it is by no means a unanimous welcome we shall get. It is not because Europe has any fear of our arms, which might lead it to hope to reduce them; it is not because Europe has any desire to know or adopt our ideas, because Europe knows in advance that those conceptions, born of our own geographical isolation and political security, can have no relation to the different conditions of the transatlantic world. It is solely and simply because Europe believes that our presence will in some way permit the realization of individual or collective desires. The British hope we will take their side of the submarine controversy, the Germans that we will join them in advocating complete disarmament. On the other hand the Italians and the French fear our coming because they believe our abstract theories will result in new episodes like that over Fiume at Paris or over naval ratios at Washington.

The danger which I see in our return to a European conference lies precisely in the fact that this return is dictated by a resurgence of the more or less emotional and missionary spirit so common among our people and not by any specific or general increase in knowledge of the complexities of the European situation itself. There is the far-reaching conviction that we ought in some way to contribute our moral influence to the cause of disarmament, and little or no perception of the fact that disarmament is only to a limited degree, if at all, a moral issue in Europe, but rather almost exclusively a question of balanced interests.

Our misfortune has been, hitherto, that in almost every case our desire to render real service and our belief in certain fixed principles has resulted in leading us to champion the thesis of one country against another, of Yugoslavia against Italy, of Poland against Germany, or of Germany against France, arousing the most intense



resentment in the respective countries we have opposed and exciting only cynical satisfaction where our devotion to an abstract principle has served the material ends of a people which could not for the soundest of all reasons subscribe to this same principle for itself.

Moreover, in all cases where we appear as the champions of any principle, Europe invariably and inevitably seeks to make us pay on our part for its acceptance of part of our doctrine by accepting a portion of hers. We are asked for guarantees, debt cancellations, economic advantages in return for European compliance with our ideas about self-determination, of peoples, limitation of armaments, and the like. And in my judgment we are very properly asked for these things because, quite unconsciously, we are endeavoring to force Europe to accept our ideas, which may be contrary to European experience or dangerous to the security of European countries.

Underneath all else the trouble lies in the fact that whereas all European countries go to international conferences to maintain and advance national interests, we have no national interests to maintain or advance, we have no material benefits to seek. We want nothing in the way of material profits and nothing in the way of physical security. Accordingly our object is to further certain principles which we conceive, not inaccurately, might contribute to making a better world, if they were universally adopted and applied.

To the forthcoming arms conference

every European nation is going with the frank and unconcealed purpose of championing those forms of arms limitation which will increase its security and preserve the advantages it now possesses. Britain is going to defend her naval supremacy in Europe and to seek by the abolition of the submarine to enhance it. France is going to defend what advantage she has as a result of the possession of the supreme army and to block any effort to break down any part of this advantage. France will see limitation of armaments in terms of her relative military strength, Britain in terms of her relative naval strength. Germany is going with the avowed object of restoring some portion of what she lost when she was forcibly disarmed and condemned to live disarmed amidst well-armed neighbors.

We are going not to advance a national interest, although Europe will unanimously believe our purpose is to bring about limitation of military and naval expenses in Europe so that we can get more money paid to us on account of war debts. We are going simply because our people believe in the idea of limiting armaments, or reducing if not abolishing European armies. We are going because there is a vague emotional conception that in some way reduction of armies will increase the probability of peace. But the danger lies in the fact that we are going in much the same spirit as we went to Paris and to Washington with no general or national appreciation of the specific and material circumstances in which we shall have to work.

### III. Debt Settlements

No better example of the confusion in the American mind with respect of European relations could possibly be supplied than that incident to the recent debate of foreign debt settlements in Congress—a debate which evoked from the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, the most completely satisfactory statement of the whole debt question which has yet been had.

The Debt Commission has in the past year made several debt arrangements with nations which borrowed from us during and since the war. These settlements range from the smaller, which in the main followed the Mellon-Baldwin treaty covering the British debt, to the Belgian and Italian arrangements which, in effect, cancelled

one-half and two-thirds of the obligations, respectively.

Congress, and particularly those elements in Congress which have held out for integral payment and have earned the rather derisive label of "last red-centers," seized upon these two latter settlements as the basis for a declaration of war upon all settlements which were not in accordance with the British. And the particular target was the Italian agreement. Those who criticized this did so because they regarded the terms as too generous or because they were unwilling that a Fascisti Government should receive as favorable terms as they would accord to a more liberal régime.

In meeting the criticism of his treaties,

Mr. Mellon rather completely demolished the case of the opponents. He told them quite bluntly that there was in the first place no way to collect the debts—an obvious truth since the American public is unready to go to war to collect war debts. In the last analysis the debtor cannot be made to pay, and to ask him to pay more than he believes possible, as Mr. Mellon pointed out, is to encourage him to evade payment and possibly justify such evasion.

What Mr. Mellon in reality told Congress with very little regard for legislative feeling was that the recovery of debts was likely to be a difficult and in the end highly unsatisfactory process, that few debtor countries could pay anything like the sums which they had borrowed, and the most that could be demanded was a sum commensurate with their capacity, a sum which in the Italian case had a present value of no more than one-quarter of the obligation.

What the United States might have, if Europe were restored to something like normal purchasing power, Mr. Mellon indicated, was a market which would not alone immediately but continuously have greater value for our producers than any debt payments. Legally, of course, we were entitled to have our loans repaid and the repayment ought not to interfere with the purchase of our products. But actually European recovery would have to take place before the purchasing power could be restored. And European recovery would be hastened or halted as debt settlements were made or not made. The supreme necessity of the world was to get both reparations and debt settlements out of the way, and it is notorious that German reparations payments have been scaled down enormously.

At the present moment certain European nations have consented to make debt settlements, not because any one of the nations accepted the debts as morally just, but because for varying reasons each debtor nation is seeking further American aid in the shape of private credits and loans. The British desired to restore the pound sterling to par; the Italians wish to stabilize their currency. We have taken the ground that nations which do not fund their debts to our Government cannot have access to our money markets. Thus the Italians, having signed an agreement, were able to borrow \$100,000,000 in Wall Street almost immediately.

But to ask debtor nations what appear to them to be impossible payments solely because access to our money market is essential, is not to proceed very far in the direction of ultimate collection of payments. Nations which need our money will sign, but in the end if the terms be impossible the payments will not be forthcoming and the more impossible the terms the greater the temptation to evade them.

Moreover the supreme folly of the Congressional protest lay in the fact that the Italians, having signed a debt settlement contract in order to have access to our money market and having thereafter been able to borrow \$100,000,000 in New York, were now to be absolved of their obligation to fulfil the debt-settlement contract. This would have been the single consequence of a refusal of Congress to ratify the debt settlement. Also, if one reason for the refusal were the dislike of the Fascisti government, no temptation could exist for Mussolini, still supreme in Italy, to send another delegation until such time as, conceivably, Italy desired to borrow more money.

Rejection of any debt settlement would not mean that we should later get more money. It would mean that we would certainly get less, and possibly get nothing. A certain section of public opinion in this country in and out of Congress has continued to regard the debt question as wholly analogous to the transactions between borrowers and lenders in private life. It has always ignored the bottom fact that the debts are only collectible insofar as the debtor country is not merely able but willing to pay. It has almost angrily rejected the fact that no debtor nation regards the obligations as morally well founded or our course in insisting upon payment as other than grasping and selfish.

The problem of the collection of war debts as it is set for our debt commission is the problem of getting money from nations which do not regard our claims as based upon anything but a technical legal ground, whose own financial and economic situations are desperate in the extreme, whose only incentive to agree to pay is the opportunity to get new private loans not otherwise obtainable. There is no way, as I have said, of compelling payment. We can only keep on insisting and in the end accept whatever, for reasons of their own, the debtors decide to pay us.

Small as are the Italian and Belgian obligations as funded, when contrasted with the sums actually represented by the original borrowings, the fact remains that they constitute exceedingly heavy burdens. The Italian debt, for example, will not in my judgment ever be paid as contracted, unless some miraculous and unforeseen expansion of prosperity shall entirely transform the relative importance of the annual payments to national income. All the debt settlements, the British included, are no more than experimental contracts. None of them can be paid unless the prosperity of the world as well as of the contracting powers expands almost beyond reasonable calculation.

Our people regard the debt arrangements as settlements in the positive sense, as permanent settlements, but every expert at home and abroad knows that they are not merely conditional upon future economic developments, but also upon political contingencies which cannot be foreseen. Will the next generation of Britons, Italians, Frenchmen, consent to live at a lower standard, deprive themselves of things which we regard in the United States as necessities, simply to discharge a debt incurred by their fathers and seeming to them neither just as a debt nor warranted as to collection by the comparative conditions of debtor and creditor.

It is necessary now to make debt settlements on terms which are possible, and the only possible terms are those which the debtor will accept. If we ask too much, as the French experience showed, there is no settlement. But agreements are necessary because debts and reparations are obstacles to the restoration of world prosperity and world industry. Five years, ten years hence, all the agreements may have to be materially modified, because none of them conforms to the realities, political as well as economic, of the world of that moment.

It was always absurd for Europeans and for American friends of European nations to urge cancellation, for the simple reason that no government can agree to assume for its people burdens which belong legally to others. It was just as absurd for the "last red centers" to insist upon integral payment, first because such payment was physically impossible, and secondly, were it physically possible, there existed no method to enforce payment. Finally, it

was preposterous to imagine that because a nation owed us money we could, by scaling down the debt, influence that country's policy in the matter of armaments, colonial establishments, or anything else. Much less could we persuade Italians, for example, to dismiss Mussolini because we were prepared to demand less on account of our debt from another government.

Our stake in the game from the beginning was represented by the sum we could persuade our debtors to pay us, while not permitting our demands to rise so high as to prevent settlement and delay the restoration of international trade and commerce. We had nicely to appraise the relative values of old debts and new business. But we had to learn that in the end what we got in debt settlements would not be all or even half of what we had loaned. What the victorious allies, with armies of occupation and irresistible force could not accomplish against a helpless Germany, namely, the collection of reparations in any relation to the demands, we certainly could not hope to accomplish in the matter of debts and with our former associates. But insistence in both cases had the same result; it postponed recovery, it blocked the pathway of ordinary international exchange.

Any one who desires to appreciate the real fact about debt settlements has only to look at the scale of payments under the Italian agreement. This year, each year for the next five, the Italians will pay \$5,000,000. Sixty-one years hence, almost three-quarters of a century after Italy entered the World War, the annual contribution is to be \$79,000,000, almost sixteen times as large. Twenty-five years hence the annual charge will be \$22,000,000. What will happen, of course, is that, in all human probability, by the end of 1950 our own national debt will be very largely extinguished. We have already made striking progress in this direction. Then, without adding new taxation to meet foreign debts, we can consider the readjusting of rates of payment.

The debt problem being insoluble in present time and given present states of mind, the financiers are striving to eliminate the evils incident to an absence of settlement by providing that form of present agreement which, since it calls for little present payment, and no payment in excess of present benefits, is acceptable to the debtor. Thus the real question of debts,

like that of reparations, is adjourned until such time as the world, having returned to normal conditions, is capable of dealing with these questions rationally. Then

either world prosperity will make the agreements seem possible, or world common sense applying the facts that exist will agree upon revision.

## IV. Conclusion

I have tried to keep the present article to a discussion of the general subject of our relations with Europe, because it seems to me inevitable now that we should make a new experiment. We retired from Europe on the whole because it seemed to the majority of Americans that Europe was given over to strife rather than to peace, and that European purpose was rather to involve us in foreign disputes than to accept either our advice or our coöperation in restoring normal international life.

Locarno and its consequences have served to remove much of the impression of European anarchy and irreconcilable feud. Meantime the old romantic and idealistic urge in America has reasserted itself and constitutes an unmistakable force which no political party of national administration can ignore, it is taking us into the World Court, and there are those who feel sure it will presently take us into the League. Meantime the specific expression of this sentiment is to be found in the decision to go to the preliminary meeting in Geneva.

Yet back of this sentiment there is discoverable no new and clearer perception of the realities of the European situation. Europe is not better known or more exactly understood than in 1919 and 1920. There is a conviction that we should go to an Armament Conference because it is our duty to contribute our great moral influence to the cause of disarmament. But there is no accurate recognition of the fact that our only valuable contribution must be the agreement to give European countries guarantees or assurances in return for which they will reduce their armies and lacking which they will not.

Above all there is no general realization that armament is a political rather than a moral question. The whole European system of armaments is in reality a system of balances. Infantry divisions in one country are measured against that country's responsibilities and dangers and you cannot take away a division unless you put something in its place or change the whole political situation itself.

No disarmament conference can accomplish much because armaments are in the last analysis like the mercury in the barometer. They have no independent action; they rise or fall automatically as the atmosphere is clear or cloudy, precisely as peace or war is indicated. Thus to get a reduction of military strength it is necessary to do something to increase the promise of international fair weather. But to do this is to make political agreements and our delegates will in the nature of things be estopped from all these and, I believe, properly estopped.

Few Americans really perceive that Mr. Wilson's failure in Europe lay in his inability to promise enough, while his failure at home lay in the fact that he had been persuaded to promise what seemed too much. It is axiomatic that Europe, individually and collectively, will accept no American advice which runs counter to its own experience and its own interpretation of its necessities, save as the United States is prepared to back its advice by physical guaranties.

I emphasize these points because I was one of those who saw the American delegation at Paris, saw its bewilderment, confusion, amazement, when, coming as most of its members believed to bring a simple gospel of peace and permanent reconciliation, it found itself suddenly in the center of a European world with all the rivalries and clashing interests of a thousand years of history and, what was most destructive of preconceived notions, it found the peoples of the respective countries backing their statesmen against American principles.

All this surprise, amazement and ultimate anger, combined with bitter disillusionment, had its origin in the conception that Europe was a fertile field for American ideas, that the principles we professed and sought to serve were universal and universally accepted, that Europe desired peace, and since America came with no other end than to promote peace, and fortified and equipped with the true gospel of peace, European acceptance was inevitable. There was,

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too, the belief that the war had effected some profound and complete revolution in European mentality, that Europe, seeing what its old habits and policies had led to, was prepared, to renounce these survivals of an earlier time.

Nothing was, of course, more inexact. Europe was and remains Europe; it can only approach problems such as that of limitation of armament from a European

point of view. The danger for America in this situation is twofold: first, that unfamiliarity with the European facts may prove as great a source of confusion and delay as it did in the Paris Conference; and, second, that ultimate disappointment and resentment of European conditions may serve to provoke a new wave of hostility to Europe and provide a new strength for the policy of isolation.

## WHAT THE CORN BELT DEMANDS

BY CHARLES W. HOLMAN

THE national capital is somewhat excited over the prospect of federal farm relief legislation. One will hear discussion of it in every thoughtful circle; it has taken the place of the World Court in smart dinner-table conversations. For a month the hotels and clubs have been filled with earnest gentlemen, here from many parts of our country, each with a farmers' salvation plan to lay upon the altar of patriotism.

Congressmen now seem more ready to give serious consideration to farm relief legislation than they were four years ago, when the pain was sharper and the need of it more absolute. There will be, of course, stubborn resistance from those who will claim that another raid has been started on the public treasury, and a stiff fight is in prospect; but advocates of federal action are much heartened by the belief that President Coolidge has come to their view, or at least is not in opposition.

Eight months ago few would have ventured to predict the present turn of events. Then it was generally believed that the "pain in the Northwest" had eased and the body of agriculture was rapidly convalescing. But before September had come, it was apparent that the "pain" had merely been transferred to the Middle West; and the once dependable, conservative farmers of the Corn Belt had become a community of angry souls. Among them was a widespread demand for federal aid.

The immediate cause of excitement was a large crop of corn. Nature, on approximately the same acreage as was planted in

1924, had in 1925 produced a crop about half a billion bushels larger; and the aggregate value of the bumper crop was less than that of the smaller crop in 1924. At the farm in Iowa, corn has been selling for about 60 cents a bushel, which is less than it cost most farmers to grow it.

### *Lowered Purchasing Power*

Connected with the present low price of corn is a story of economic disaster to American agriculture which forms the background of the present unrest. During the past five years, six million farm operators have seen their aggregate farm capital shrink from 79 billion to 59 billion dollars. During this period the buying power of the farm dollar sank as low as 69 cents when measured in terms of what it would buy of other commodities. Net farm earnings disappeared into "red" balances, the book-keeper's term for losses. In alternate years producers of cotton, wool, wheat, and corn took huge individual losses. In several of these years swine and cattle-feeders lost heavily. Likewise there were years when particular crops of fruits and vegetables were so unremunerative that growers could not afford to pay the expenses of gathering and preparing for shipment; thousands of carloads rotted in the fields for that reason. Apparently the only group able to "get by" without great loss has been the dairy farmers; and they complain that their industry is barely receiving wages.

Three years ago, to speak generally, the turning point was reached. Since then there

has been some recovery, but the progress of farming has lagged behind that of industry. In November the buying power of the farm dollar had reached 87 cents; but the corn dollar would buy only 72 cents, the hay dollar 69 cents, the beef-cattle dollar 74 cents, when considered in terms of exchange for other commodities. Commenting on this, the U. S. Department of Agriculture stated on January 1: "Compared with one year ago the unit-purchasing power of cotton, corn, wheat, hay, eggs and wool is lower. Potatoes, beef cattle, hogs and butter are higher. . . . The broad exchange position of agriculture does not improve."

#### *Why Government Aid?*

The foregoing factual summary will throw some light upon the situation in view of the fact that the year just closed was our greatest year of both general exports and imports; very large quantities of agricultural products also went into foreign consumption. It becomes clear, also, that the low-priced bumper corn crop was the final aggravation to a large class of our people who had been deeply irritated by continued personal losses in the midst of a general industrial prosperity. It becomes clear, furthermore, that mere exportation of our surplus farm products will not solve the problem. The thing that is out of joint is the comparative price return for effort in the city as against the country, and city industry has by far the better position.

Farmers generally understand this quite clearly. For them the "time is out of joint," and they believe, therefore, that agriculture has fallen into "the sere, the yellow leaf." The Middle Western producers and business men see this in its particular application. They have their own dinner-table conversations out there; and such conversations frequently touch upon what is called the "protective system." By this they mean not tariff alone, but a whole range of governmental acts by which the railroads, the banks, the public utilities, etc., have special protection which will aid them in profit-making. They also talk quite earnestly of the power to stabilize prices which is enjoyed by huge industrial corporations operating singly or in groups under a central management. In contrast to this, they speak of the six million odd farm units that produce the agricultural commodities of this nation. That very multiplicity of units, they say, makes it a

stupendous, almost impossible, task for farmers to work in unison to adjust production to prospective demand, even when such adjustment is in accordance with the swing of five-year or ten-year price cycles. Likewise, in that multiplicity of units, we find the principal handicap to the formation and successful operation of great coöperative marketing associations.

To understand that viewpoint gives us an insight into the demand for Government aid. When people individually feel too weak to help themselves, when the problem is so big that its solution requires the joint effort of hundreds of thousands of men united into articulated business enterprises, the natural thing to do is to turn to the Government.

During these five years of depression some keen students have arisen within our farm ranks. These men have been seeking to find a way out for their people. They have studied various foreign movements among producers of raw commodities. What they have learned has been broadcast among the rank and file. To-day the Middle Western farmers have a fairly clear idea of the operations of the Yucatan sisal producers' monopoly, under Government protection. They know that the British rubber producers have the aid of their Government in the matter of an export tax so scaled as to bring about a control of the world's rubber supply. They know that the Brazilian Government purchases the surplus coffee grown by its planters and stores it, to be sold in years of short crops. They know that the New Zealand Parliament has only recently required all creameries to enter a pool for the export sale of butter. It is not surprising that many of our best informed farmers now desire to try out some plans of direct Government aid, since they feel the economic effect of the new order as it is directed in other countries.

#### *Backing from Banks and Business Men*

Within the past few weeks powerful allies have recruited the farm forces. Organized banking and business men and influential State officials of the Middle West have joined the movement for Government aid. The reason is simple. In the agricultural districts the business of the towns and cities pays or loses, according to the general trend of farm prosperity. Business men and bankers of the Corn Belt have been especially hard hit. That region

had encountered a period of land-boom several years ago. Coincident with high land values there was a wave of blue-sky stock selling. Then came the shrinkage in land values and the consequent troubles from what they now call "land-locked loans." There were many foreclosures; but there were also many mortgages "carried on the books" in the hope that farming might in time pay enough to clear away the debts.

In 1923 there was much gloom; in 1924 the good prices of corn brought a wave of optimism. This year's wheat and hog prices have been of a hopeful nature; but the sudden slump in corn prices in the "cash corn" districts threw a tremor of fear into Middle-Western business circles. This was reflected somewhat in Eastern financial quarters where there are huge holdings of land mortgages. In consequence a number of influential business heads have recently visited Washington to urge governmental assistance to agriculture. A by-product of the fear that farmers would materially curtail their purchasing programs is the recent offer of a great farm machinery concern to accept corn in payment for machinery, the corn to be valued at \$1 a bushel, f. o. b. Chicago.

#### *Agitation in the Middle West*

So the capital is seething with discussion of the farm surplus; and Congressmen are girding themselves for a battle that will eclipse in interest the issues of the World Court and the foreign-debt settlements. Unless quiet is restored to the Corn Belt, party managers know that the summer and fall elections will have rather interesting results. In some quarters there is a fear that the West and the South may form a political coalition.

The Coolidge Administration was not slow to respond to the cry in the Corn Belt. As soon as it became certain that millions of bushels of Iowa corn would lie in the fields this winter in wire baskets, for lack of storage space, and that large sales at current prices would entail great losses to farmers and seriously endanger the credit structure in that region, federal representatives hurried to the scene. Shortly afterward they arranged for private capital to launch two agricultural credit corporations, with a total available capital and credit of \$5,000,000. By utilizing the Iowa State Warehouse Act, arrangements were made for the

farmer-borrower to become his own warehouseman, since storage was unequal to the demand. But \$5,000,000 will not stretch very far in Iowa's cash-corn districts; and the corn producers of other States say they must also have help. In general the demand is not so much for credit as it is for price. Hence the new drive at Washington.

There were some complications which hastened the movement toward a climax. About a month ago President Coolidge spoke at Chicago to a farmer audience; and in discussing the surplus he opposed any plan for price-fixing by Government or merchandizing by a Government corporation. He also praised the present protective tariff act. He did say, however, that he would support agricultural legislation, provided the plan could meet certain tests of being economically sound and business-like. His words were received with faint enthusiasm; the organization before whom he spoke promptly elected a president committed to policies that Mr. Coolidge opposed; and the Middle West reverberated with a back-fire of criticism of the presidential utterances.

Various meetings of agricultural committees were held to discuss the situation and plan for action. Then the Iowa State Bankers' Association arranged a State-wide meeting to devise federal legislation. The Governor of Iowa called the meeting and it was attended by the entire Iowa Congressional delegation.

#### *The Dickinson Bill*

Meanwhile the Administration continued its efforts to work out a plan. Secretary William M. Jardine, of the Department of Agriculture, began a series of conferences with interested persons. He first called in Representative L. J. Dickinson, of Iowa. This was a significant move. Mr. Dickinson for several years has been actively interested in agricultural legislation. Last winter he became a national figure by leading a fight against the Administration's bill to set up a federal board with power to license and control agricultural coöperatives. Mr. Dickinson had introduced a bill which provided for a federal board, but it was directed to assist and not to attempt to license or control the coöperatives. After a sharp fight, the Dickinson bill was substituted for the Administration's measure in the lower house. The Senate, being in its last week of session, took no action.

Mr. Dickinson's fearless activities had won him many friends, among whom were the survivors of the McNary-Haugen price-stabilizing group. Several influential Iowa farm leaders were believers in this principle, and they urged him to continue the fight in some way. So it was natural that to Mr. Dickinson should fall the leadership of the movement to solve the surplus question by federal legislation.

From the close of the last Congress until now, Mr. Dickinson has been in active contact with practically all the farm leaders in the United States. From among their varying views he has culled ideas, and introduced a bill which he believes can meet the tests of President Coolidge and the wishes of the dissatisfied Middle West. Secretary Jardine has given approval to some of the principal points in the bill, and Mr. Dickinson would remake his proposed legislation to satisfy the Administration.

Secretary Jardine is continuing to confer with leaders of farm and coöperative marketing associations. Out of these conferences may emerge some degree of unity on the proposed legislation.

#### *Other Relief Proposals*

Various remedies are being offered. Some are long-range policies; others are emergency proposals. Here are specimens of the first type: (1) Rigid control of public lands to prevent additional lands going into cultivation until such time as consumption overtakes production; (2) coördination of Government information agencies to aid voluntary adjustment of agricultural production to prospective demand; (3) encouragement of the farmers' coöperative movement; (4) revision of the tariff to bring closer together prices of agricultural products and agricultural requirements; (5) acceleration of the movement of rural population from town to urban centers.

To most of those suggestions farmers make impatient answer. They have already suffered for five years; they are reluctant to bear the strain for another long period. So we must turn to the proposals which lead to legislative expression. Most of them revolve around these main ideas:

(1) A federal trading corporation empowered to buy and sell agricultural products for the purpose of raising price levels.

(2) A Government body to stabilize farm commodity prices behind a tariff wall, dumping the surplus at world prices.

(3) A federal financing corporation to finance foreign sales.

(4) A federal board with power to authorize coöperative associations and other business concerns to act as agents of the Government in forming compulsory pools.

(5) Creation by the Government of a vast network of coöperative associations to deal with the problem in their own way.

(6) An export bounty on low-priced exportable farm products.

In various combinations and with varying emphasis, one or more of these ideas will be found in nearly all the bills which the present Congress is considering. For example, Representative Dickinson's new bill provides first for a farmer-elected federal advisory council. That council will then nominate a number of persons, from whom the President will select six to comprise a federal farm board. The Secretary of Agriculture is to be the seventh member. The board will have the power to keep in touch with world conditions and to declare emergencies with respect to wheat, corn, rice, cotton, tobacco, cattle, and swine. It may declare an operating period for these crops. It may designate coöperative marketing associations as authorized agents to sell these crops in export trade. It may also designate private business concerns as agents. It has the power to levy and collect an equalization fee from all producers of a crop when an emergency is declared. In other words, it may put into effect a compulsory pooling system. Credit for these operations is to be furnished by the Intermediate Credit Banks, under an amendment.

There are many other bills; but the Dickinson bill now has the attention of the country and the partial endorsement of the Administration. None can predict the outcome of the next few weeks. If the Administration and Congressman Dickinson arrive at a full agreement, the chances are that the Democrats will insist upon the bill carrying a more adequate provision for financing exports. Should a break come between the Administration and Mr. Dickinson, there is still the possibility of a Western-Southern agricultural bloc being formed. A move of this kind would win considerable support. At this juncture, both parties and all groups are warily watching each other, ready to capitalize every point for the effect it will have upon the fall elections.



# RUBBER AS A WORLD TOPIC

THE people of the United States are consuming nearly two million dollars' worth of rubber each day, at present prices. All of it is imported. The price of crude rubber has advanced from an average of 24 cents per pound during 1924 to 46 cents in July, 1925, 53 cents in August, 62 cents in September, and 66 cents in October and November. Official figures for December are not available, but in that month the price rose to \$1.10 a pound before reacting.

The value of our rubber imports in 1925 exceeded \$400,000,000, against \$240,000,000 five years earlier and \$33,000,000 a quarter-century ago.

The extraordinary rise in the price of a commodity so widely used has brought about a discussion international in scope and not entirely friendly in tone. Speaker Longworth is reported to have characterized the situation as "an international swindle," and a Democratic colleague, Cordell Hull, called it a "hold-up."

## *Vast Increase in Production*

Twenty years ago the world production of rubber amounted to less than 60,000 tons, of which 174 tons were "plantation" rubber (as distinguished from Brazilian "wild" rubber). The production of wild rubber has decreased to 28,000 tons only, but the output of plantation rubber increased from 174 tons in 1905 to 7000 tons in 1910; 159,000 in 1915; 305,000 in 1920, and 386,000 in 1924.

Plantation rubber comes from the Malay Peninsula (British), Ceylon (British) and the Dutch East Indies. Two-thirds of the entire current production comes from the regions that are under British jurisdiction. Due to over-planting and improved methods, more rubber was being produced in 1922 than the world was consuming, and the price dropped to 14 cents a pound. A situation so serious resulted that the British Colonial Office became interested. A committee, under Sir James Stevenson, studied the problem and recommended the control of rubber planting and exports, as well as an export tax. Ceylon and the

Federated Malay States adopted the plan, and it went into effect in November, 1922.

The extent of British domination of plantation rubber is indicated by the fact that of 385,000 tons output in 1923, 290,000 tons came from British Malaya and Ceylon.

In any discussion of dominance in rubber production, it should be remembered that the Dutch in Java and Sumatra have followed British leadership, and profited by it, or else their product is actually bought by the British in Malaya. Thus the 290,000 tons sent out from British Malaya and Ceylon in 1923 included 68,000 tons *imported* from Dutch Indies, Cochin China, etc. In that year only 80,000 tons were shipped direct to the consuming markets from Java and Sumatra.

## *Restriction, to Raise Prices*

Under the Stevenson scheme, the planters in British-controlled rubber regions are to export only 60 per cent. of their standard production until the price of rubber remains above 30 cents for three months, when an extra 5 per cent. may be exported; if the price remains above 36 cents, 70 per cent. may be exported; and so on.

Along with the restrictive feature there is graded tax. The 60 per cent. output is subject to an export duty of 2 cents per pound. The excess output pays a tax increasing by gradations to a maximum of 42 cents on 100 per cent. production. This export duty forms part of the colonial revenues.

The immediate effect of the Stevenson Act was to double the cost of crude rubber; but throughout 1923 and 1924 the price remained within the bounds of reason. During 1925 the price rose from 40 cents a pound to \$1.10, and is now about 90 cents.

An explanation for this rise may be found in the fact that the exportable quantity of rubber for the three months ending January 31, 1925, was fixed at 50 per cent. of standard production. In the quarter just ended 85 per cent. was allowed to be exported. Now, as a result of recent

criticism, the restrictions have been removed for the three-months period beginning February 1.

#### *Mr. Hoover Champions the Consumer*

Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, has estimated that the foreign rubber combination succeeded in taking \$700,000,000 more than a fair price from the American public for its 1925 supply of rubber.

To meet the emergency, Secretary Hoover recommends: (1) that American buyers combine their purchasing through a single agency; (2) that the public cooperate in saving tires, which constitute 80 per cent. of our rubber consumption; (3) that new rubber production in tropical areas be stimulated; and (4) that substitutes should be developed.

America's protest against inflated rubber costs culminated in the passage of a resolution in the House of Representatives, on December 21, directing the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to investigate foreign price-fixing in rubber, coffee, silk, potash, and other raw materials.

#### *The British Contention*

Sir Robert Horne, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the British Government when the Stevenson plan was formulated, believed that there was deep misconception in America which ought to be cleared; so he prepared for the *New York Times* a detailed defense of the restrictive measure and its consequences. The chief cause of the increased price of rubber, Sir Robert Horne declares, is the enormous growth in the demand—particularly in the United States, and arising out of what he terms our "amazing" prosperity. He cites the advent of the balloon tire as a factor. It is the familiar rule of supply and demand. In fact, he believes that but for the restrictive regulations, which saved many plantations from disaster, the price of rubber would have been even higher than now.

The ex-Chancellor states that the American manufacturers pay exactly the same price as the British, and have no ground for complaint. Until a few months ago they could have purchased the whole product of almost all the plantations for five years ahead, at a price of 36 cents, but they gambled on being able to get it at a lower figure. He cites figures of one American manufacturer to show that each dollar expended for tires goes five times as far as before the war,

and figures of another manufacturer which shows net profits of \$12,000,000 in 1925 against \$7,000,000 in 1922.

#### *An American Point of View*

A formal reply to Sir Robert Horne's statements has been made by A. L. Viles, as general manager of the Rubber Association of America. He makes two principal statements: First, that although it is true the British Government never had guaranteed that 35 cents would be the maximum price, such assurance did come from members of a British rubber committee which visited the United States three years ago. Second, that the Stevenson Act limits production and thus does interfere with the law of supply and demand. Even when the British Government removes the restrictions, on February 1, and permits 100 per cent. "standard production," the output will be far short of the potential supply.

Mr. Viles estimates our 1926 imports of rubber at 900,000,000 pounds. At the present price of 90 cents we would pay \$800,000,000 for this year's supply, or \$486,000,000 in excess of what 36-cent rubber would cost. Incidentally, he places the cost of producing East Indian rubber at 12 to 18 cents per pound.

Comparison has frequently been made, by both sides in this international argument, between British rubber and American cotton or wheat. Some Americans (of whom Representative McKeown of Oklahoma is one) have suggested that the price of American cotton for export be now increased as a retaliatory measure. On the other hand, the London *Daily News* reminds its readers that "for five years American raw cotton stood at prices which crippled our industry"; and the London *Morning Post* recalls that in 1919, "when Europe was starving," the United States deliberately recommended that its farmers reduce their wheat sowings.

One distinction between British rubber and American cotton or wheat has so far received but little attention: When the price of cotton or wheat is high, every planter or farmer profits thereby; but when the price of rubber is high, as at present, it seems to be the British Government which profits most, through export duties in the colonies and war taxes upon inflated incomes of individuals or corporations in London who control the plantations in far-off Malaysia. There are less than 14,000 Europeans in

the Federated Malay States and Ceylon, and nearly 6,000,000 natives.

#### *Paying War Debts with Rubber*

It has been freely charged that Great Britain intends to pay her much-discussed war debt to America through this increase in the price of rubber. Congressman Hull made such a statement, for example, on the floor of the House on December 21. The debt-funding agreement provides for repayment by Great Britain over a period of sixty-two years; but the present price of rubber—if the excess could be so applied—would wipe out the debt within ten years.

In the opinion of Secretary Hoover, expressed before the House investigating committee on January 6, new dangers are raised by this intrusion of governments into trading operation. Nine products are now under foreign government control: rubber, Egyptian staple cotton, camphor, coffee, iodine, nitrates, potash, mercury, and sisal. It is a comparatively new and growing menace, he declares, and the problem can not be solved by acquiescence. The best and most permanent cure, in his opinion, is not reprisals or threats, but to set up such measures as will bring relief

within our own borders and through our own agencies abroad.

#### *Prospects for an American Product*

On January 12, representatives of American rubber consumers—that is, the great tire and automobile companies—met in New York with Secretary Hoover and formed two organizations for the production of crude rubber. One will spend \$10,000,000 annually for five years to plant trees in areas under American control.

Plantation rubber can be grown in the Philippines, and conditions in Colombia and Panama are favorable. Mr. Firestone, meanwhile, has leased a million acres in Liberia and has already under cultivation a 2000-acre plantation, with 20,000 acres to be planted in the present year. The United States Rubber Company is acquiring plantation areas in the Far East with a present total of 125,000 acres. Natural conditions in the Philippines are said to be favorable to the production of rubber on a large scale, though it would be necessary for the Filipinos to remove present restrictions on land-owning. At present, corporations are allowed to hold a maximum of 2500 acres of land in those islands.

## TIRES AND THE RUBBER SHORTAGE

BY THEODORE WOOD

**T**HE principal uses for crude rubber are in the manufacture of tires and inner tubes, in footwear (that is, rubber boots, heels, athletic shoes, overshoes, and rubbers) and in mechanical goods such as belting, flooring, rollers for printing and laundry machines, and toy balloons. However, tires and tubes use by far the greater part of our crude rubber imports, about 60 per cent. at present; and authorities estimate that by 1930, 87 per cent. of all rubber imported will be used by the automotive industry.

With the collapse of the industrial bubble in 1920, the leading tire manufacturers found themselves with large stocks of fabric (cotton duck) bought or contracted for at high prices. There had been fear of a shortage, which had compelled the principal users of

this commodity to provide for their requirements far in advance. The same was true to some extent of crude rubber.

The sudden drop in the price of both fabric and rubber enabled a lot of "mushroom" companies, not having long forward commitments, to cut the tire prices then current. The larger manufacturers, who without exception honored their forward contracts for fabric and rubber, were obliged to meet the cuts made by their smaller and less responsible competitors. Nothing but the most rigid economy enabled the principal tire manufacturers to live through the period that followed, and some of them had to effect complete financial reorganization.

With the "buyers' strike" which followed, there was a surplus of tires for the first time

since the beginning of the war, and prices were slashed until a basis of tire price was reached, lower than that which had been in effect prior to the war. A tire that cost \$25 in 1913 could be bought for \$12 in July, 1925, less than half the pre-war price.

In the meantime, the price of raw cotton had gone down to a nominally low basis, and the price of crude rubber also slid off. Many of the tire companies—in fact, more than 50 per cent. of them—were obliged to discontinue operating.

#### *From Surplus to Shortage*

During this crisis, the so-called Stevenson Act was put into force in Great Britain, which operated arbitrarily to restrict the production of crude rubber from the British plantations. This measure appeared to its makers to be necessary to prevent the utter ruin of the plantations in the far East, owned in large measure by British interests. The effect of the operation of this Stevenson Act was to raise the price of crude rubber. However, as the price increased, the restrictions were to be removed gradually so as not to cause hardship to consumers.

The enormous increase in the production and use of automobiles in the United States, coupled with the extraordinary advance in the motor bus service, the popularity of the new balloon type of tire, the increase in the number of articles requiring rubber, such as the radio and rubber flooring, meanwhile made demands on the crude rubber supply that caused its price to skyrocket.

In the late spring of 1925, tire manufacturers were forced to start a series of price increases to take care of the rising average cost of their crude rubber. Supplies purchased in advance at low levels serve to keep the average cost down for a short period only, if the current and future markets remain high.

No one can say whether or not crude rubber at a dollar a pound will be cheap six months from to-day. The evidence seems to indicate that there is not now enough rubber produced in the world to take care of present requirements. It appears to show that with the normal increase in automobile use and tire consumption, during the next five years, the present planted area of rubber trees will produce in 1930 only 31 per cent. of the world's requirements.

The man driving an automobile, who is out of touch with these primary markets, can hardly understand why tire prices are

going up so rapidly; and he is inclined to believe every statement which he sees in the public press condemning tire manufacturers as robbers or placing British governmental agents in about the same category. But if he will consider that until the summer of 1925, following the crash in 1920 and 1921, tires were about the only commodity which he could purchase at less than pre-war prices, he will better understand the increases that the manufacturers of tires have been forced to make during the last eight months. He should also remember that instead of using fabric tires, with a large percentage of cotton, he is now probably using balloon tires, in which the proportion of fabric is much lower and the poundage of rubber relatively greater.

#### *Development of the Tire*

The term "fabric," as applied to an automobile tire, refers to the heavy cotton duck, strips of which, having been coated with uncured rubber compound, are laid one on top of the other, forming the skeleton of the tire. The rubber covering to this skeleton furnishes the cushioning quality and grip on the road, and also serves to protect the cotton fabric from the deteriorating effect of moisture and grit.

An average tire of the old high-pressure type contained approximately 20 per cent. of cotton fabric by weight, 40 per cent. crude rubber and 40 per cent. pigments. The balloon type of tire, rapidly superseding the old type, contains about the same poundage of cotton fabric, and nearly twice as much crude rubber and pigment, while the inner tubes for balloon tires require from 60 per cent. to 75 per cent. more rubber.

Originally all tires were made from tire fabric, weighing about one pound to the square yard, with an equal number of threads of the same size and strength, both warp and weft, making what was called a "square woven" fabric. It was the practice to use four plies for small tires and eight plies in the larger sizes. This fabric, being rather inflexible, caused frequent "blow-outs." A sudden impact on a stone or a rut, with a car moving rapidly, would cause such a strain on the fabric that it could not yield sufficiently at the point required, and a rupture of the whole carcass resulted.

To overcome this difficulty, so called "cord" fabric was developed, in which strong cords were woven together parallel, with just enough light cross thread in the



cloth to keep the cords from becoming tangled. This marked the first great improvement in tire construction, and practically eliminated blow-out trouble through increased flexibility. Also, a notable increase in mileage resulted.

The next development, equally revolutionary, was that of the balloon tire. In this type of tire the whole structure is more flexible, has fewer plies of fabric, and the fabric and rubber are so put together that the tire can be run with one third of the former air pressure required, without injury. This balloon tire was at first looked on with skepticism by many, but it has proven itself to be a great step forward for the automotive industry, especially since car manufacturers have redesigned the chassis, cut down the wheels, and altered steering-gear ratios, to conform to requirements of the new tire.

#### *Tires For Twenty-Five Million Cars*

To-day there are more than 18,500,000 motor vehicles registered in the United States. A year ago there were about 53,000 motor busses, but since that time new busses have been put into operation at the rate of 1000 each week. It is conservatively estimated by experts that in 1930 the country will see 300,000 busses in operation. One bus normally uses as much rubber in tire equipment and maintenance during its natural life as ten passenger cars.

An estimate of 25,000,000 passenger cars by 1930 does not appear to be unreasonable. Therefore, with that many passenger cars, and 300,000 busses, we will have the equivalent of 28,000,000 cars, each averaging not less than two tires per car per year in replacements, to say nothing of the tires for original equipment every year during the interim. The figures are those of the *India Rubber and Tire Review*, whose authenticity and accuracy in such estimates are accepted without question by the rubber trade.

#### *Higher Tire Prices in Prospect*

The current prices for tires are not high enough to take care of the cost of manufacturing them with the present outlay for crude rubber; if crude rubber remains at or about its present level, further increases in tire prices will be necessary. The price of tire fabric is now less than the average cost of manufacturing it in the United States. There is therefore little chance of that going lower. There is little prospect of labor accepting radical reduction in the wage

scale as long as the Government pursues its policy of restricted immigration.

With the world's supply of rubber far short of present requirements, and with those requirements increasing monthly, nothing can prevent further advances in the price of tires except an immediate addition to the productive area of crude rubber plantations. It should be borne in mind that a rubber plantation cannot be started and made to yield inside of five or six years.

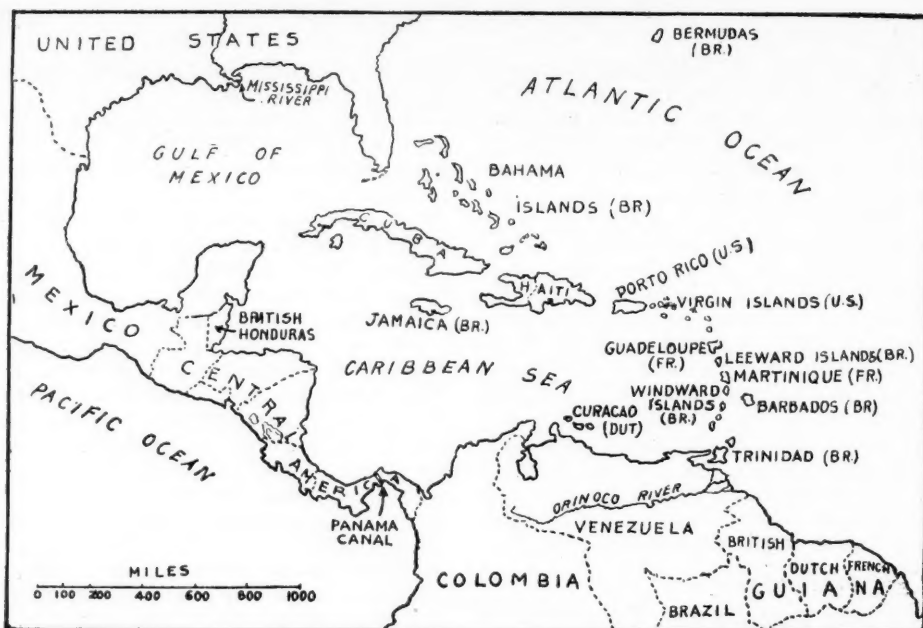
Dr. H. N. Whitford, the crude rubber expert of the Department of Commerce, at Washington, in charge of the Government's surveys of rubber-growing possibilities throughout the world, states that the present shortage will last throughout 1931. He states, further, that only the immediate planting of a million or more acres would alleviate the famine by that year. British authorities have estimated the total needs of additional acres at 3,000,000, in order to keep pace with the growing requirements.

#### *Reclaimed Rubber, and Substitutes*

There has been much in the public press in the last year about America growing its own rubber. Many readers may believe that there have actually been large tracts of rubber trees planted and brought into bearing. Actually, however, not more than 3,000 acres of jungle have been cleared and planted, to alleviate the situation for the United States.

With high prices for crude rubber, reclaimed rubber is used in greater quantities naturally. When rubber is low, it is to the advantage of rubber manufacturers, particularly of tires, to use crude rubber with a very little admixture of reclaimed rubber. At present, the reclaiming of rubber from old tires and tubes is going on to the fullest capacity of all the reclaiming plants in the country. This product amounted to more than 100,000 tons during the year 1925, all of which was consumed. It is possible to increase the amount of reclaimed rubber, but hardly fast enough to avoid a shortage during the next few years.

Chemists have been working for some time to produce a synthetic rubber, but it is safe to say that nothing has as yet been produced from any source whatever, which is of commercial value in replacing crude rubber, nor do the best informed minds on this subject believe that the production of a synthetic rubber in commercial quantities is even in sight.



EUROPE'S COLONIES IN AND AROUND THE CARIBBEAN SEA

# THE FRONT DOOR OF AMERICA

BY CHARLES H. SHERRILL

AT THE junction of all the Americas—North, South, and Central—lies the Caribbean Sea. It ought to be a Pan-American Lake, just as is the Gulf of Mexico, freed from all European colonies or naval bases. Its doorplate should display only the names of American republics.

Into this Mediterranean of the western hemisphere flows the majestic Orinoco from the south, and on the north, down through the Gulf of Mexico, drains the mighty Mississippi pathway through the vital parts of the United States. Out of it on the west opens our own Panama Canal, invaluable portal to the Pacific Ocean. Properly defended, that Canal not only doubles the power of our navy by permitting its use entire in either the Atlantic or Pacific as needed, but also it links up our eastern with our western coastwise merchant marine. It is not properly defended so long as there are European-owned naval bases in and about the Caribbean Sea.

The Monroe Doctrine is really a policy of *insulation*, not of *isolation*. It should be modernized so as to free the mouths of the

Gulf of Mexico, the Orinoco, the Mississippi, and the Panama Canal from the danger of naval conflicts arising out of future European wars—wars carried on by European nations, or, worse still, by any one of them against any of the Americas.

Suppose that in the late war the Battle of the Falkland Islands had taken place off British Honduras near the mouth of our Panama Canal, instead of in the South Atlantic. Would we not have promptly demanded a neutrality of those waters, just as in December, 1914, our South American friends joined in demanding it for all Pan-American waters?

President Monroe declared in December, 1823, against any *further* colonization by Europeans in this hemisphere. The year 1926 would seem to possess an especial reason for signaling the modernization of President Monroe's pronouncement, by an elimination of *existing* European ownerships in the Caribbean.

And why is 1926 an especially appropriate year for that forward step? Because, thanks to the far-seeing policy of another

American President, Calvin Coolidge—a man who realizes that “firm understandings make long friendships” and therefore better international relations—1926 will see an adjustment of the great war debts between the United States and all European debtor nations. Calvin Coolidge will live in our history as the President who, more than any other, stabilized our national finances at home and abroad.

### *A Proposal to Buy Europe Out*

That adjustment of foreign debts, by removing any financial misunderstandings, also provides us with a unique opportunity to offer a purchase price to France and England for their Caribbean Sea holdings, by merely writing off an amount on each of those settlements, and without the passing of any money. In this simple way we could well afford to offer so generous a purchase price to our friends the English and the French, as favorably to impress them while reassuring and insuring the people of the United States. A similar offer would permit Holland to liquidate debts contracted for a defensive army mobilized throughout the entire world war.

As to how greatly such a completion of the Monroe Doctrine would gratify our people, there is not the smallest doubt. Politicians will take notice that nothing is dearer to the “voters back home,” no matter in which section of the country that home may lie, than the Monroe Doctrine in all its entirety. And any one in public life who honestly essays to advance that doctrine, to broaden its base, will find a hearty response. The writer has visited chambers of commerce in almost every State of the Union, and has been surprised to find how widely spread and how deeply seated is public feeling regarding that corner-stone of America’s foreign policy.

### *Three European Nations Remain in the Caribbean*

Let us look back a few years. In 1898 there were five European nations (Spain, Denmark, England, France, and Holland) holding territory near the Caribbean Sea, and another (Germany) was knocking at the door. The war of 1898 eliminated Spain. “And then there were four,” as the children’s verse runs. But that total soon risked a return to the original five, for Germany sought the fine harbors of Denmark’s Virgin Islands. Her attitude to-

ward Venezuela in threatening forcible debt collection in 1902, so sharply rebuked by President Roosevelt, and also toward Haiti and Santo Domingo, showed her continuing hope of a base in these waters. The Great War has put an end to those hopes, and swept away any German cloud.

The pacific foresight of President Wilson, showed by his purchase in 1912 of all the Danish Islands for \$25,000,000, still further reduced the number of European flags in those strategic waters. “And then there were three.” That Danish purchase redounded greatly to President Wilson’s political advantage, and will gain for him even more credit with posterity. Maurice Francis Egan, then our Minister to Denmark, will live in our diplomatic history as the negotiator of that purchase.

So far, so good. Now let us glance at certain phrases of Monroe’s pronouncement, and at the remarks of other distinguished Americans upon the policy which Monroe did not originate, but only formulated.

The idea underlying the Doctrine had been a basic fact for us ever since the “shot that was heard around the world” began the Battle of Lexington. Says John Bassett Moore: “The Monroe Doctrine has in reality become a convenient title by which to denote a principle that doubtless would have been wrought out if the Message of 1823 had never been written—the principle of the limitation of European power and influence in the Western Hemisphere.”

### *Democratic, as Well as Republican, Glory*

It matters not what the party politics of our Presidents may happen to be; their position upon the Monroe Doctrine has always been faced forward—always toward an advance in that Doctrine.

Republicans may well be proud that it was under President McKinley that Spain was eliminated from the Caribbean; that it was President Roosevelt who riposted Germany’s threat of naval concentration off Venezuela to collect a debt, with a promise of a larger American fleet there; and that it was President Grant who in his 1870 message on Santo Domingo said: “I now deem it proper to assert the equally important principle that hereafter no territory in this continent shall be regarded as subject to transfer to a European power.”

Also, Republicans may well remember that it was their veteran Senator, Henry Cabot Lodge, who gave his name to the

so-called Lodge Amendment of 1912, which declared against any disguised transfer. It said "Resolved, that when any harbor or other place in the American continent is so situated that the occupation thereof, for naval or military purposes, might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see, without grave concern, the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another Government, not American, as to give that Government practical power of control for national purposes." European naval bases in the Caribbean do "threaten the communications" of our east and west coast trade through the Panama Canal!

Democrats can point with equal pride to the attitude of President Cleveland in 1895, touching his dispute with England over the Venezuela-British Guiana frontier, and to President Wilson's purchase of the Danish Islands. But best of all are the inspiring words of Jefferson, patron saint of the Democratic party, in his letter of August 4, 1820, to William Short: "The day is not far distant when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard." How could that statement be improved upon!

#### *Progress under European Rule*

So much for watchwords taken from our book of history. Now for a brief investigation of two sets of Caribbean facts. First: "What, if anything, have European nations done to better Caribbean conditions in the past? And, second: Does there not to-day exist, in the use of these islands as bases for the rum-running industry, a continuing threat to our pleasant relations with European friends?

First, then, let us see what Europeans have done, either in the matter of citizenship or material aid, to benefit the Caribbean. England, France, and Holland introduced large numbers of East Indian coolies into their West Indian territories—the French bringing Siamese and Chinese, and the Hollanders Javanese. As early as the 1911 census of British Guiana, we learn that out of a population of 296,041 only 10,084 were whites, while 2,622 were Chinese, 126,517 East Indian coolies, and 115,486 Negroes, all brought by the English

to work their plantations. Is it not fair to ask if such coolie importation makes for an improvement of Caribbean citizenship?

As for material benefits, the last available statistics show 94 miles of railway in British Guiana, none in French Guiana, and 104 in Dutch Guiana. That total of 198 miles compares unfavorably with 588 miles in nearby Venezuela and 614 in Colombia. And so do 24 miles in British Honduras compare unfavorably with 175 in Honduras, 614 in Costa Rica, 350 in Guatemala, 191 in Nicaragua, and 160 in Salvador. There are practically no schools in the three Guianas, as against 1,700 in Venezuela and over 5,000 in Colombia, plus ancient universities in both those American republics. French Guiana is chiefly known by its penal colonies, in one of which Dreyfus languished those hideous years. During the war, the French Islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe were very profitable because of their large exports of rum for use of the soldiers in France; but now they show an annual deficit for French taxpayers to meet.

#### *The "Rum-Running" Phase*

This last comment brings us naturally to the second of our suggested inquiries: Is not the present use by Europeans of their Caribbean islands as bases for profitable rum-running a serious and constant risk to the friendly relations existing between their governments and ours? Was not Great Britain as much shocked as we were when, last year, a titled member of her Parliament openly advertised, inviting capital for a rum-running business from the British West Indies? Is there not a constant risk that this may produce among our people just such a serious reaction as exists among the Chinese against the English traders bringing opium into China via Hong-kong?

The writer is and always has been a firm believer that the best guarantee of international peace is a warm and friendly feeling between the two great English-speaking nations. In that sense he has for years labored in the Pilgrims and similar peace organizations. To-day the only cloud upon the horizon of a perfect Anglo-American understanding is rum-running from the British West Indies. Why not dissipate that cloud by so completing the Monroe Doctrine that the Caribbean Sea shall become a Pan-American lake? Thus, only, will the republics of America become masters of their own Front Door.



# THE READING HABITS OF THE COLLEGE GIRL

BY FREDERICA P. PISEK

**T**HERE has been much discussion of late concerning the activities of young people in college. We may regard it as an accepted opinion that the habit of reading good books is desirable, and that four years of college work should not have the effect of destroying such a habit earlier formed under intelligent home influences. A public not familiar with college life has assumed in general that colleges had something to do with intellectual pursuits, and that the promotion of literary taste and the stimulation of an appetite for good reading was one of the chief objects of those who are supposed to be carrying on our colleges with a view to the accomplishment of certain results.

If the colleges do not succeed in teaching their students to read and think, they are wasting the money of donors; are defrauding alike the students and their confiding parents; are deserving of exposure. With the idea of finding out something about the reading of students, and about what colleges themselves do to encourage the forming of good reading habits, it has seemed worth while to start with a single woman's college. The author of the present article is a very recent graduate of Vassar, who prepared for college at the widely famed Lincoln School in New York City, and who is now a member of the staff of this periodical. She tells quite simply and frankly about books and reading at Vassar.

We hope that what Miss Pisek has written will result in securing from teachers and students in a number of colleges some comments that relate to their own experiences; and we have it in mind to quote from such letters in order to promote a discussion that would seem to us to be of exceptional timeliness. To express an editorial opinion in advance of a more extended discussion, we would venture to say that, if there is not as much valuable reading done in colleges as there ought to be, the fault is neither that of teachers nor that of students. The fault rather is that of the system of cramming and examinations, and of the vicious consequences that have followed the tradition of a balanced curriculum.—THE EDITOR.

**M**Y ANSWER to the question which Dr. Shaw has put to me is built perilously upon a few facts, and many impressions and opinions, the truth of which can be claimed at best only for Vassar.

It is my belief that in spite of the fact that one spends little time in reading while at college, literature is opened more widely before one, and habits of reading develop strongly as a result of the four years. To bear out this opinion I journeyed up to Vassar recently on this specific quest. Consulting with everyone, from those who had never read before coming to college, to those who would read anyway, even the unpalatable Ten Books of desert island fame, was my chief method of inquiry. Snooping in rooms to see what books were there was another satisfactory, if less reputable, way of strengthening my im-

pressions. I found much the same collection—Alice in Wonderlands, Modern European Histories, *Petit Larousses*, Edna St. Vincent Millays, and modern novels of a slightly exotic and super-literary flavor—that graced my own and my friends' rooms. From the Coöperative Book Shop, were derived a few facts, which I shall produce proudly later.

Several of the faculty when approached knew how much reading was done in connection with their own courses, but were vague, and dubious, about the rest. The faculty in general are much upset about the little time left for free reading by the break-neck college schedule of balanced ration. To remedy this there is a movement on foot to develop what is in essence a tutoring system where classes will meet more rarely, and increased amounts of reading will be done along the lines of the individual's

major interests. A system somewhat like this is already in force at Princeton, among a favored few at Smith, and elsewhere.

### *Influence of College Courses*

The average student who thinks about the problem at all usually comes to the conclusion already stated—that the amount of free reading done at college, while comparatively small, has little to do with the eventual development of the good reading habits which do result from the college course.

The chief explanation of this lies, perhaps, in the fact that in many courses the student spends her time investigating a few subjects to the best of her ability. The novelists of a period, in a course on the novel, are studied biographically, esthetically, and in the light of their political and social environment. Poets, philosophers, artists, and musicians are studied in the same way. The history of a period is not undertaken without coming into rather full contact with its art and literature, its philosophy and science—largely through individual library research. All this may leave little time for free reading; one's knowledge of modern literature, the magazines and newspapers, may suffer perhaps; but it is amazing how many by-products of information result, and it all has an apparently excellent effect in developing reading habits.

Aside from the fact that some background is acquired then and there, a bibliography accumulates for untouched parts of the subjects studied, and for new subjects, which would keep a Women's Club busy, and will probably keep these girls busy, for a lifetime.

College is a catching-up period as well. The greatest number of books which one has always meant to read, the authors one has been told about so often, are either required or suggested in English courses. One year of English work is compulsory for all freshmen. Pater, Stevenson, Ruskin, and Carlyle, the Romanticist poets, Galsworthy, Wells and Shaw, such jumbled but suggestive fare as this is set forth. Students majoring in English are not the only ones who come across Fielding, or Dante or the Pre-Raphaelites, or the Russians. The most popular French courses are on the novel and the drama, and one reads an unconscionable amount in each.

Surely I can not far overestimate the influence of such courses on the reading

habits of the college-bred. Miss Milner of the Farnsworth Room at Harvard has published several lists of the books being read (not studied) by the Harvard students, which bears me out, and says much for the usefulness of such a place as the Farnsworth Room in all college libraries which do not have the open-shelf system. At Vassar, the open shelves encourage delving in the books which always look so attractive, next to the required ones on the shelves of history, psychology, literature, philosophy and the rest. On Miss Milner's lists, which are appended, appear many books which I am sure would be on a Vassar list were there any way of making one. The predominance of Stephen Crane, Conan Doyle and the like, however, is perhaps an indication of masculine differences; they are surely not the books chosen for relaxation at Vassar.

Of course, many come through the four years unscathed by the touch of the literary. Some never develop beyond "Little Colonel" days, and a few seem to escape without knowledge of the English language, much less its literature. But the typical college girl reads. Nine times out of ten the athlete-class-officer type would know the story of the Forsyte Saga, for Galsworthy is probably Vassar's most popular author. Unfortunately no statistics such as those taken at Princeton and Yale, and at most high schools, as to the "favorite" novelists and poets are ever collected at Vassar, or these revelations could be more startling.

### *The College Girl and Modern Literature*

As for what modern literature is actually read: Many college girls certainly do not know as much about current fiction as the débutantes at home, who often accomplish extraordinary feats in order to be *au courant*. One girl I know left college voluntarily because she did not have time for her reading. Another, a budding bibliophile, subordinated her college courses, except in literature, to her love for reading and book-buying, and flunked out, as she herself put it, with a record "all A's, E's, and I. O. U's." She has gone on with her reading, and with special courses in literature, and is at present one of the most studious persons I know.

But my outstanding impression is that in spite of these drawbacks the college knows something about modern literature, follows the whims of the season only too

rapidly, and has a level of taste slightly higher than and very similar to the general public's.

As happens in all small communities, but most ingloriously at Vassar and other colleges perhaps, there are runs on books even as there are on coonskin coats and slang. But amazing books are chosen. At the time of my recent visit, Virginia Woolf's "Mrs. Dalloway," which has great interest for the critics, but little for the general public, was holding the center of continued discussions with Brousson's distinguished "Anatole France Himself." This year the story which everyone has read, if they do not discuss it as much, seems to be "Beau Geste." Two years ago it was "The Sheik."

The chairman of the Coöperative Book Shop told me much this same thing. She said the shop catered definitely to a "high-brow" audience, addicted to fads. Demands for the more popular, hardy perennials in fiction came to the flourishing little rental library run in connection with the Book Shop.

#### *The Coöperative Book Shop*

The Book Shop is in itself an interesting project, and could exist only in a community with literary tastes, for it is supported and run by the girls. It is in no way connected with the college bookstore where text books are purchased, although it owes many of its sales to courses which have instilled a desire for well-bound editions of the "texts" used. Numerous and expensive George Eliots, Hardy's, Walpoles, Wellses, Bergsons, Brownings and the like, are thus sold. There is an ever-changing poets' corner; many plays and as many books on the drama, belles-lettres, a few rare books, and quaint and charming children's books, in addition to the long shelves of latest fiction.

During the last school year (September, 1924, to May, 1925) \$28,925 worth of books were sold. This means that 9,500 to 10,000 books were distributed to a community which constitutes not more than 1,250 possible customers. In addition to this source of book supply, there is an excellent shop in Poughkeepsie; and needless to say, many girls order their books from home, where they may charge them to father.

Perhaps the most convincing indication that sturdy reading habits are acquired at

college is the amount of non-fiction—biography, criticism, and history—actually read. I shall always be as grateful to Vassar for the fact that while there I read Henry Adams' "Mont St. Michel and Chartres," or James Harvey Robinson's "Mind in the Making" as for any other one thing.

#### *Some Popular Modern Authors*

The rental library run in connection with the Book Shop is for latest fiction and old favorites which stay in by reason of popular demand. Gene Stratton Porter, Mary Roberts Rinehart, William Locke, Samuel Merwin, Gertrude Atherton, Scott Fitzgerald and the Ethels, Hull and Dell, who have all had their day as the most popular author of the moment at Vassar, as elsewhere, are now sought only in the rental library. But even here the very latest authors are more popular. Those at the top of the list are: Margaret Kennedy, Thomas Boyd, H. G. Wells, Anne Parrish, Willa Cather, Hugh Walpole, Marie Ostenso, Virginia Woolf, Sinclair Lewis, St. Reymont, A. Hamilton Gibbs, Sherwood Anderson and Louis Bromfield.

#### *Pre-College Training and Reading Habits*

Although the ability of the individual to profit by exposure to new habits of thinking and working, and her attitude toward literature is of course largely determined by her personal interests and home training, it does not seem proper to omit mention of the contribution which the preparatory schools do or do not make in the development of reading habits. They are largely responsible for the fact that so many girls come to college with no interest in reading and only the most orthodox opinions about books. They are also responsible for the fact that many girls come with a hardy enough interest in literature to have it survive the rush of the four years and add much to what the girls get out of college. Such a school as the Lincoln School in New York City, whose advanced educational methods are well known, encourages the pupil to read widely and freely in English literature, and collaterally in other subjects, and sends her off to college with such an impetus that it has to be checked to fit in with the requirements and restrictions of the busy first two years.

Since my day at the Lincoln School, the value of this side of its training has in-

creased many times. An evidence of this is the recent book which they have published, "Creative Youth," reviewed on page 224 of this issue, which shows clearly what proper freedom and encouragement can do.

### College Work Bears Literary Fruit

All this can come to no neat conclusion. Obviously the college girl, if Vassar girls are any criterion, reads. No one will deny that many of them do not, and that practically no one reads enough because of the nature of the modern college. But that they read in quantity, let the helpless

plight of the girl forbidden to use her eyes for a few days attest. Those who take English throughout college become pretty thoroughly grounded in a knowledge of what are the classics, if not in the classics themselves; they know a little about discrimination. More creditable by far is the fact, which I state with some confidence, that even those girls who do not take English work in college nor pursue a literary profession afterwards, leave college with a wider and better knowledge of literature, and a greater ability to read it, than they would otherwise have acquired.

## Books Read at Harvard

The following lists were made at Harvard by Miss Florence Milner, librarian of the Farnsworth Reading Room. The lists appeared in the *Boston Evening Transcript* last fall, and we are reprinting them here because aside from certain typically mascu-

line choices, in our opinion the lists might well represent Vassar tastes.

The books on the first list were in the hands of Harvard students for an hour during term time; those on the second list, for an hour immediately after examinations.

### DURING TERM

- ✓ Conrad's *Rover*.
- ✓ Bennett's *Riceman's Steps*.
- ✓ McFee's *Captain Maceydoine's Daughter*.
- ✓ Hardy's *Tess*.
- ✓ Shakespeare's *Tempest*.
- ✓ Bagehot, Vol. I.
- ✓ Scott's *Voyage of Discovery*.
- ✓ Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*.
- ✓ Tennyson's *Becket*.
- ✓ Ford's *History of the U. S.*
- ✓ Masfield's *Roundhouse*.
- ✓ Hawthorne's *Bliethedale Romance*.
- ✓ Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*.
- ✓ Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*.
- ✓ Howells' *Rise of Silas Lapham*.

- ✓ Homer's *Odyssey*.
- ✓ Plato's *Phaedrus*.
- ✓ Burke's *Revolution*.
- ✓ Thackeray's *Nahlahka*.
- ✓ Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*.
- ✓ Oxford Book of Latin Verse.
- ✓ Carlyle's *Past and Present*.
- ✓ Poe's *Tales*.
- ✓ Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.
- ✓ Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.
- ✓ Blackmore's *Lorna Doone*.
- ✓ Molière's *Tartuffe*.
- ✓ Tennyson's *Lucretius*.
- ✓ Sophocles' *Antigone*.
- ✓ Churchill's *The Crisis*.
- ✓ Burroughs' *Wake Robin*.

- ✓ E. A. Robinson's *Launcelot*.
- ✓ Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*.
- ✓ Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*.
- ✓ Buchan's *Mr. Standfast*.
- ✓ *Life*, 1916.
- ✓ Tolstoi's *Anna Karenina*.
- ✓ James' *The American*.
- ✓ Ian Hay's *First Hundred Thousand*.
- ✓ Horace's *Satires*.
- ✓ Hardy's *Return of the Native*.
- ✓ Fielding's *Tom Jones*.
- ✓ Meredith's *Richard Feverel*.
- ✓ Hardy's *Greenwood Tree*.
- ✓ Howells' *The Kentons*.
- ✓ Miltons' *Areopagitica*.

### AFTER EXAMINATIONS

- ✓ Brooke's *Poems*.
- ✓ O'Brien's *Short Stories*.
- ✓ Scott's *Kenilworth*.
- ✓ Conrad's *Victory*.
- ✓ Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*.
- ✓ McFee's *Race*.
- ✓ Wister's *Virginian*.
- ✓ Dickens' *Bleak House*.
- ✓ Doyle's *White Company*.
- ✓ Doyle's *Memories of Sherlock Holmes*.
- ✓ Doyle's *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*.
- ✓ Dunsany's *Plays*.
- ✓ Farnol's *Amateur Gentleman*.
- ✓ Stevenson's *American Immigrant*.
- ✓ Dumas' *Two Dianas*.

- ✓ *Thirty-One Short Stories*.
- ✓ *Best Plays* (Collection).
- ✓ *Great Short Stories* (Collection).
- ✓ Fielding's *Tom Jones*.
- ✓ Twain's *Set Essays*.
- ✓ Twain's *Letters*.
- ✓ Marryat's *Handy Andy*.
- ✓ Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*.
- ✓ Thackeray's *Pendennis*.
- ✓ Dumas' *Companions of Jehu*.
- ✓ Farnol's *Sir John Deering*.
- ✓ Twain's *Connecticut Yankee*.
- ✓ Gogol's *Dead Souls*.
- ✓ Dostoyevsky's *Gambler*.
- ✓ Pepys' *Diary*.
- ✓ Scott's *Rob Roy*.

- ✓ Swinburne's *Poems*.
- ✓ O. Henry's *Options*.
- ✓ Calderon's *Constant Prince*.
- ✓ Conrad's *Typhoon*.
- ✓ Lord Byron's *Letters*.
- ✓ Pater's *Plato*.
- ✓ Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*.
- ✓ Melville's *Mardi*.
- ✓ Synge's *Poems and Plays*.
- ✓ Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*.
- ✓ Hughes' *Tom Brown's School Days*.
- ✓ Morley's *Modern Essays*.
- ✓ Roosevelt's *Through Brazilian Wildernesses*.
- ✓ Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*.



# NORSEMEN—IN AMERICA AND AT HOME

By R. A. NESTOS

(Governor of North Dakota, 1921-1925)

"These Norsemen . . . have exercised a great influence upon our modern history and Western civilization, which it is difficult to match among any other like number of people. . . . One hundred years ago a little bark sailed from Norway to America . . . it brought with it the representatives of a stalwart race, men and women of fixed determination, enduring courage and high character, who were to draw in their retinue a long line of their fellow countrymen, destined to change the face of an area broad as an empire, direct the historic course of sovereign States and contribute to the salvation of a great nation. These mighty works have been wrought because those Norwegian immigrants were well worthy to follow in the wake of the Pilgrim and Cavalier." (*President Coolidge, in his Norse Centennial address at Minneapolis, in June, 1925.*)

SUCH is the estimated value of the contribution made by the Norsemen to American national progress. With this conclusion impartial historians, in the main, agree. It is only when an attempt is made to unfold the causes and conditions which have made this small nation from the North so influential in shaping the course of history throughout the world that a variety of views develop. It has always seemed to me that any attempt to account for the influence of the Norsemen upon the nations of which they have become citizens, must fail, unless their traits of character and the environment they left, as well as the conditions and needs of the country to which they came, be fairly assessed.

## *What America Needed*

When the Norsemen began to emigrate to America in 1825, the United States needed certain definite types of citizens, with a home training and qualities of character that fitted them to meet the requirements of the new nation. Both then and in subsequent decades the United States demanded hardy and courageous pioneers, able and disposed to raise large families for citizenship and service; men and women accustomed to toil, willing to

work, and of thrifty and frugal habits. It needed pioneers who possessed both ability and inclination to penetrate our forests, clear them, and break the virgin sod, bridge the rivers, and build roads, homes, schools, and churches.

The requirements of American civic and political life were equally urgent. The statesmen of the Revolutionary period had laid the foundation of an experiment in popular government, and applied it in an immense territory where the greatest diversity of races, climate and economic conditions were found. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance that as large a proportion as possible of the immigration should come from lands where national ideals, economic necessity, education, tradition and experience had prepared them for effective pioneering and ready assimilation. Early Americanization and a helpful part in shaping the civic life of communities, States and nation, were among the real needs of the time.

It was fortunate for America that a large proportion of the early immigrants came from Northern Europe; but in no country were the traits and characteristics to which I have referred so universally implanted in the mind, heart, and daily life of the people as in Norway.

## *Why the Norsemen Made Good Immigrants*

Tillable and productive soil in Norway was scant and scattered. Only by hard work, good management, thrift and frugality could the average man hope to eke out a living for his family. The families were usually large and the parents constrained, either by law or public opinion, to give every child a religious education, preparing them for confirmation; and they were kept in the public schools at least until confirmation age.

I came to America in 1893, a little over

sixteen years of age, chiefly because I desired to continue my education, and found that as my father was poor and could not provide such schooling, there seemed to be small chance of doing it there. I had heard that in the United States boys or girls, who really desired a high school or university education, could secure it while working their way through. There did not then seem to be any such opportunities in Norway, and so I came. The school system of Norway was and is excellent, the compulsory feature being quite rigidly enforced, with the result that Norway has practically no illiteracy. Two hours of each school day were then devoted to religious instruction, committing to memory the Bible history, catechism, and explanation, with such comments and illustrations as a devoted teacher might offer. The schools there are under the supervision of the same head as the Church (a Cabinet Minister on Church and Schools). With the passing of the years and the addition of many subjects to the curriculum, the time devoted to religious instruction has been somewhat curtailed. A considerable number of secondary schools, especially for those who come from the farms and villages, have been established in recent years, and greater opportunities are now offered for boys and girls, without means, for securing an education.

This desire for an education, either for these Norwegian immigrants or at least for their children, became a powerful factor in the establishment of the very large number of academies, normal schools, and colleges founded by the churches and now dotting Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, Washington and other States. The pioneer gladly made his great sacrifices in order that educational opportunities might be given to the children.

In these pioneers and their ancestors, a spirit of respect for parents, the aged, and things sacred, and for constitution, law, and authority was part of the religious training given the child. Obedience was general and implicit; and the sense of personal responsibility for right conduct and proper social conditions was keen. The freeholder in Norway had always been held in high esteem, and the possession of a freehold and home was the dream and cherished hope of almost every Norseman.

Practically every immigrant from Norway was, therefore, able to read and write,

was accustomed to work and save, was familiar with the processes of popular government, and desired to secure a freehold and establish a home. He had received the religious training which time and experience have proved to be the best guarantee of the character which insures that respect for authority and regard for the rights of others, without which a government of, for, and by the people is but an unattainable ideal.

#### *Norway Sent Agriculturists*

The Norse immigrant did not seek the crowded centers and the glare of the white lights, but rather the greater freedom and opportunity that work and self sacrifice would bring on the prairies, or in the forests of the great Northwest. The reasons are quite obvious. Most of the immigrants came from farms, scattered along the fjords, lakes and rivers of beautiful Norway. It was, therefore, natural that the group of seaside farmers of 1825 should locate in the timbered stretches on the shores of Lake Ontario; and that, when they sought better land, they, and subsequent groups, should locate on the prairies and pleasant hills adjoining Lake Michigan on the West.

The Norsemen's love of adventure inevitably led to explorations of the regions to the West and to the early settlement of some of the fertile spots he found. When the Homestead law was enacted, it seemed almost a direct answer to the Norsemen's prayer for a freehold, a home, and a chance for economic independence. These Norsemen came and settled in large numbers in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, Washington and Oregon. The aspiration to own a freehold and home may account in part for the fact that to-day a larger percentage of the Norse own their homes, than is the case with any other ethnic group in America.

As the Norse pioneers settled the townships and villages of the Northwest, they soon found that the universal suffrage of Norway and their experience in administering local government, was of real value. They promptly joined with their neighbors in organizing local, county and State government. When called to positions of trust and responsibility, as very many were, it was usually found that they were actuated by the same integrity, faithfulness and dependability that characterized their forbears in Norway.

*Norse-American Relations To-day*

Five years ago, and again last summer, I visited Norway. I wanted to know whether the emigration losses had proved a handicap in the development of the country. I talked with its leading men and tried to obtain their views and the reasons for them. While they frequently expressed the wish that individuals who had shown exceptional initiative and gifts in America, and had achieved success, might have employed those gifts in Norway, yet nearly every one admitted that as a whole, the reactions of the spirit of adventure in leaving, the contact maintained with the folks at home, the success achieved by the transplanted sons and daughters, and the pride in these achievements, had been a source of spiritual and economic strength for the homeland. The population of Norway has grown steadily, despite the losses due to emigration, and at no time has there been any real shortage of labor.

Intellectual and cultural contacts between the Norsemen in America and those of the homeland have been many. A large number of the clergymen here were educated in the homeland, and some who had long served in the United States have gone to Norway to enter the ministry there. Many Norse-American ministers find it possible to pay visits to their native land; and those from overseas visit America. Only last summer two Bishops of the Church of Norway came to America, one of them making a speaking tour from coast to coast.

The Norse-Americans have always shown a keen interest in the great writers of Norway. Not only have their books sold freely here, but even decades back the Norse-American Press published some of the best productions of Ibsen, Björnson, Lie, Kjelland, Garborg, Hamsun and others in serial form. In recent years there has also been an increased interest in Norway for the productions of the leading Norse-American poets and novelists. Educational contacts have been established and maintained in the same way.

The American-Scandinavian Foundation, with headquarters in New York, has accomplished much in its interchange of students and in its excellent translation of Scandinavian classics as well as in the contents of its fine magazine.

Normands Forbundet (the Society of Norsemen), in Oslo (the capital, formerly

known as Christiania), is a clearing house for matters cultural among Norsemen throughout the world, and publishes an excellent magazine of international circulation.

The Sons of Norway, with headquarters in Minneapolis, maintains cultural contacts and fosters cultural activities as well as furnishing insurance and sick benefits among its 19,000 members, and constitutes quite a considerable force in making the best traits and cultural elements of Norway available for the melting-pot product.

*Post-War Radicalism and Reconstruction*

Like most other nations, Norway deplors the experience of the past decade. Though she maintained a strict neutrality during the World War, and used her splendid merchant fleet, then the third largest in the world, in entire accordance with international law, yet the indefensible submarine warfare destroyed 49 per cent. of her ships and a great many valuable cargoes. All this had to be replaced at multiple cost; the market for her fish was destroyed, business demoralized, and a spirit of speculation ran rampant.

The wave of radicalism that swept over so many lands at the close of the war, also struck Norway. The Government was asked to do, at excessive cost, a great many things which individuals had formerly done for themselves. The cost of government increased rapidly, the public debt grew by leaps and bounds and the tax burden of Norway, as of most other European countries, became almost unbearable.

Matters, however, are mending. The wave of radicalism seems spent and constructive policies of progress, generally characteristic of the Norsemen, have been substituted. Complaints of excessive taxes and high costs of living are still prevalent, but growing less; and a feeling of hope, courage and optimism is arising. Improvement in fishing, lumbering, mining and farming is evident everywhere.

*Tourist Traffic Increasing*

The tourist traffic is growing rapidly, proving not only a source of revenue, but a strong cultural influence among tourists and home folks alike. The beauty, grandeur, and easy accessibility of the fjords, lakes, mountains and glaciers, attracted multitudes of American, English, French and German tourists to the Land

of the Midnight Sun during the past summer. No one who saw these and basked in the almost continuous sunshine of recent months, will wonder at the popularity of Norway as a tourist land, and at the fact that the tourist traffic is proving of real value in the process of post-war reconstruction. In the secondary schools of Norway, as in the higher institutions of learning, thorough training is given in the modern languages, and the great majority of the educated men and women speak and read English, and either French or German. The large numbers of tourists thronging the beauty spots of Norway each season tend to encourage this excellent practice.

Oslo, the capital city, is a beautiful place with a population of about a third of a million, or nearly half a million people if all of the far-flung suburbs be included. It lies in a semi-circle around the end of the fjord. I saw it on a sunshiny day from Holmenkollen," the hill made famous by the ski races each winter, which lies near the capital. Seldom, if ever, have I seen a more beautiful sight than the serene fjord, surrounded by a city of architectural beauty, dotted with trees along parks and driveways. The Royal Palace crowns one of the hills, and right below are the National Theater and the excellent and famous University of Norway.

The cities of Bergen and Stavanger are well known in the annals of commerce and shipping. Stavanger also is noted for its many world-famed canning establishments especially of sardines. When I was there, a strike had closed the canneries for many weeks, and, as the shipping had not yet revived after the ravages and hardships resulting from the World War, business life in both cities was at rather low ebb. Conditions are improving, however, and there seem to be many evidences of the early restoration of business activity.

The change in the name of the capital from Christiania to Oslo does not seem to be popular with the citizenship of the cities. Many refuse in conversation even to use the new style, claiming that although the city was called Oslo during a period of Norway's greater brilliance, yet Christiania had been in use so long that it should not now be changed.

The new name, Oslo, comes really as a part of another struggle that is now going on in the nation. A large section of the population, especially in the country, favors the

adoption of a language similar to that used in Norway a few centuries ago (not, however, the "Old Norse"). This is now used largely in newspapers, churches, schools and daily conversation, in rural Norway, especially in the valleys and along the fjords; but not so much on the plains of eastern Norway. The remainder of the citizens feel that it is wiser to use the Dano-Norwegian language, practically similar in Norway, Denmark, and among the Norse and Danes in America, as it furnishes a larger and wider circle of readers and supporters for the literary products of all of these sections. There is a continual battle between the two tendencies, and the change of names is really a part of it.

### *Prospects for the Future*

One of the greatest causes of optimism lies in the prospect of the rapid development and increased use of the immense water-power resources of the country. The past twenty-five years have seen a marvelous development in this field, until to-day electrification is quite general in town and country. But some fifteen million horsepower, within a short distance of the fjords and fine harbors, await the initiative and money of the capitalist, industrial engineer and organizer, to make Norway one of the greatest manufacturing centers of Europe. Here the needed raw materials can be brought by ships to the source of abundant and relatively cheap power, and the manufactured products loaded in the same bottoms for the markets of the world.

With a population still disposed to work and save, with a sound and steady growth in voluntary coöperation for the improvement and marketing of agricultural products and the supply of the chief farm needs, and with the progress in constructive policies of government, the industrial, economic and financial condition of Norway is sure to experience rapid improvement.

Nor will there be any abatement of Norway's influence in international affairs. Her departing sons and daughters will still bring added power and national strength to many peoples. Her conspicuous place in promoting world peace and good-will among men will still be hers under the splendid leadership of to-day, whether exercised at home, in the many international organizations of which she is a part, or in the world service rendered by Dr. Nansen, Roald Amundsen, and other distinguished sons.



# THE BREAD THAT MOTHER DOES NOT MAKE

BY HAWTHORNE DANIEL

**T**WENTY-FIVE years ago most American housewives baked their own bread. To-day only about one-third of them do so. And it seems likely that before long bread-baking will as definitely have left the home as spinning and weaving have done.

The American housewife is a practical person, and this change has come about because of a number of easily understandable reasons. Not the least of these, perhaps, is the size of the task. This may be faintly visualized if one realizes that the bread Americans consume in one day is about three times as large in volume as is Washington Monument. With so great a consumption of a thoroughly standardized article of food, it is not difficult to see why bakeries—which are better equipped to produce it than are the kitchens of our homes—should be given the task.

It has been largely within the last fifteen years that the American housewife has turned so much to bakeries for her bread, and that tendency is growing greater as time goes on. The modern desire to simplify housework has been partly responsible, no doubt, but it is also true that it is only with difficulty that the housewife can equal the best bread she buys. There is slight chance for her to improve on it. Furthermore, she can save little or nothing by baking at home.

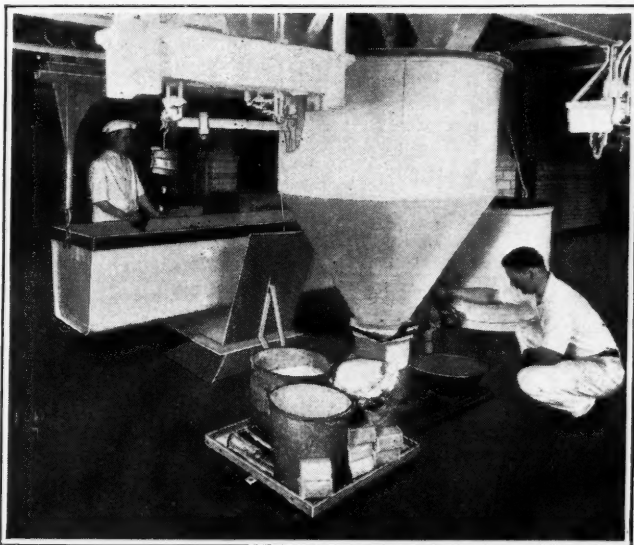
The Government estimates the amount of bread consumed in the country each day, at one-half a pound per capita—an amount which fluctu-

ates little in good times or in bad. About 60 per cent. of that is prepared in bakeries. Ten years ago bakeries prepared half of it, and twenty-five years ago far and away the greater part was prepared in the kitchens of our homes.

It was not until about 1910 that the great bakeries now so common in all our cities entered the field on a large scale. The trend of baking since then has been steadily away from our homes to our bakeries, and as steadily away from the little bakeries that occupy a basement or a corner store to the great plants that bake bread by machinery on such a scale as makes one wonder at the appetites of his fellow-men.

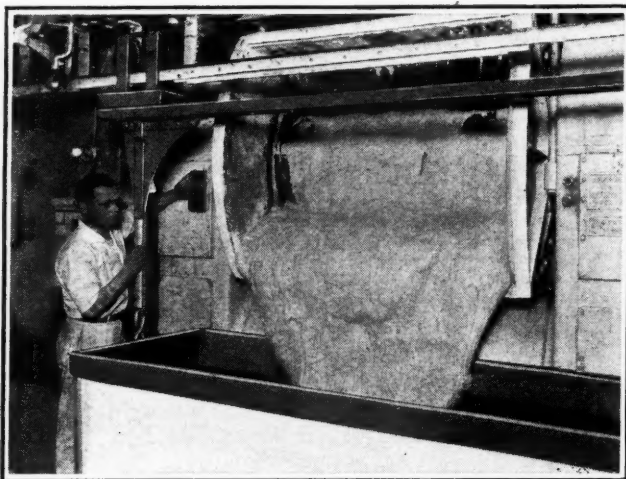
In this we are reacting just as we have in other fields.

Time was when our soap was made at home; but home-made soap is a rarity these



**WEIGHING THE MATERIALS—THE FIRST STEP IN SCIENTIFIC BREAD-MAKING**

(Shortening, milk, sugar, salt, and yeast are here assembled, and the flour and water are carefully weighed)



THE KNEADING MACHINE, DISCHARGING UNIFORMLY MIXED DOUGH INTO A MOVABLE VAT

(The machine is automatically emptied, without the dough being touched; and the dough remains in the vat during the rising process)

days, for which we may thank our stars. The manufacturers were able so to improve on what the housewife could make that she preferred theirs to her own, especially as the price they sold it for was so low that she was not saving anything by competing with them. Home-made soap has thus gone to a Gehenna all its own, and rare indeed, in American homes, is the soap caldron and its strong, if comparatively ineffective, contents.

The same thing has happened to a score of other daily necessities. Home-spun cloth is a product of other days. And now, in our homes, butter is far more often to be found in cartons than in churns. But I am going far afield. Bread is my subject.

#### *The Housewife's Bread*

Bakeries, by and large, are able to sell bread to housewives because, in the first place, they make better bread. If any housewife takes exception with me on that statement I shall immediately retract it, in her particular case, because there is no doubt that some housewives can make bread that no baker can surpass. But, unfortunately, such artists are few. And there lies the crux of the whole matter.

Baking bread in the home is an art, in which a sixth sense is essential. Few housewives who bake good bread do it otherwise than by utilizing that sixth sense. And most housewives do not have it. With

them, then, if they bake their bread, it *may* turn out golden-brown and luscious. On the other hand it may be pale and fallen, dejected and unappetizing. The dough may "rise" beautifully and then "from morn till noon" it may "fall," and so by "dewy eve" and dinner time paradise is indeed lost.

Modern bakeries depend less on this artistic method than on chemical formulas and mechanical precision. There lies their strength. They do not guess—they know. And the loaf of bread you buy to-day is likely to be, in the most minute detail, identical with the one you

buy a month from now. The housewife generally uses the best of ingredients, but sometimes, in her efforts to make her product good, she may be too generous, and so fail of success.

#### *Accuracy, a Substitute for Guess-Work*

Not so the bakery. Recently, in one of the large New York bakeries, I saw accurate scales weighing to the fraction of an ounce the flour, the water, the salt and sugar and lard. I saw the formulas that had been figured out by chemists. I watched the dough as it was mixed in the huge mixers that never get tired in the elbows, and that perform their task most thoroughly and well. The periods of "rest" for the dough, which are figured out to the minute, were explained to me. The temperatures are as exact as thermostats can keep them, and the oven heat is uniform. Traveling belts take thousands of loaves in at one end of the huge ovens and out at the other, in exactly the number of minutes that the baking required; and every loaf is almost an exact counterpart of every other one.

There is no guess-work in these great bakeries, and the result is always the same. Few men were required to operate the plant, and except in the delivery room the place seemed more or less deserted. Machines did very nearly all the work from hoisting the flour out of the basement to wrapping the loaves in waxed paper. And

throughout such plants the accuracy of complicated machinery insures the excellence of the scientifically standardized product.

Small wonder it is that the housewife is giving up. In the first place, she saves little if any money by baking her own bread. She cannot conceivably bake every day. And her luck is bad.

So the grocer delivers her bread, fresh from the bakers' ovens, and her household duties are thereby simplified.

Bakeries, we are told, prepare about 60 per cent. of the bread that is consumed in the United States; but there are two distinct kinds of bakeries. The kind I have had in mind heretofore is the great factory with a production of thousands of loaves an hour. But still the small baker is a huge factor in the business. In New York, for instance, where practically all the bread consumed is made in bakeries, the great modern plants bake less than 20 per cent. of the supply. The remainder, or most of it, is made by small bakeries whose output is far less likely to be uniform, whose standards are not so high, either in quality of product or in cleanliness, and who are slowly being driven out of the field. The same situation is found in other cities.

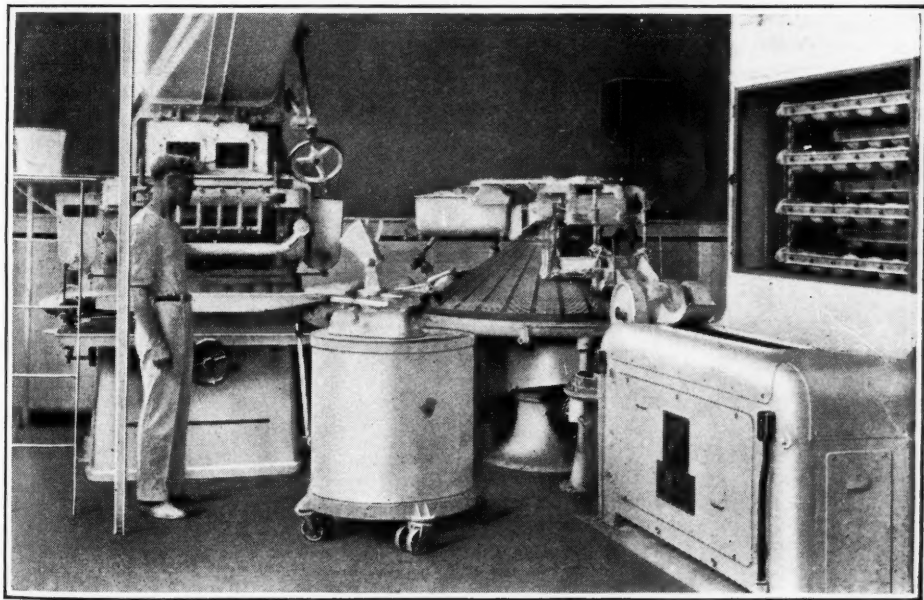
### *The Bread of Our Ancestors*

Baking is an industry with a most respectably long lineage; but, as with most other lineages, it has often fallen on evil days. Bread-baking, or what then passed for the process of making bread, began in prehistoric times. Remains of such bread, made from barley and wheat, have been found among the ruins of the ancient Swiss lake dwellings. Probably earlier still, bread, if bread it may be called, was made of acorns and beech nuts. The native Indians of California, until recently, made crude cakes from acorns.

Prehistoric peoples could hardly have done more than bruise and crush their grain, after drying it thoroughly. They then soaked it until it became a sort of pulp, pressed it into cakes, and baked them on hot stones or in the ashes.

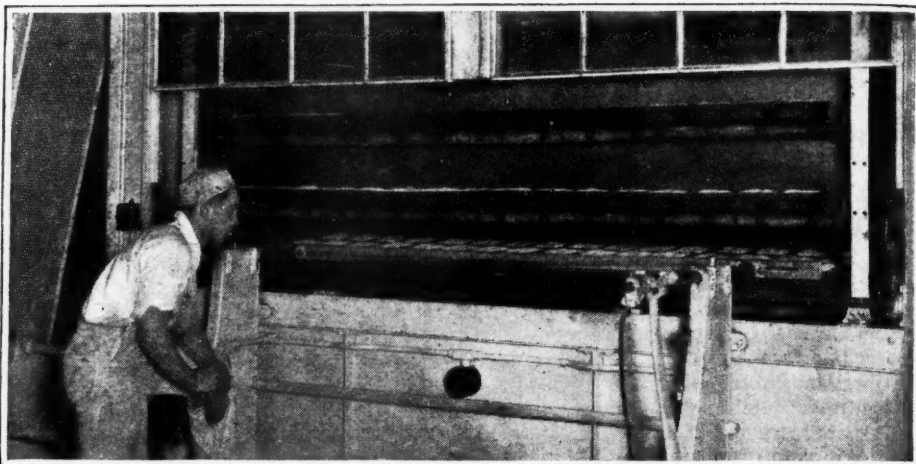
At the time of Abraham meal was in use, as is evidenced by the Book of Genesis, in which Abraham is said to have bade his wife Sarah to "make ready three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth."

In Egypt bread-baking was greatly perfected, and while the cruder sorts were baked for the multitude, white bread



WHERE THE DOUGH IS MADE INTO LOAVES

(The machine at the left receives dough from the floor above, and divides it into pieces of the proper size. These are rounded into balls by the revolving apparatus toward the right, and carried on an enclosed belt to a moulding machine, where the dough is shaped and deposited in pans)



THE LOAVES OF BREAD, AFTER A SECOND RISING IN PANS, ENTER A TRAVELING OVEN

made from wheat was quite generally prepared for the rich.

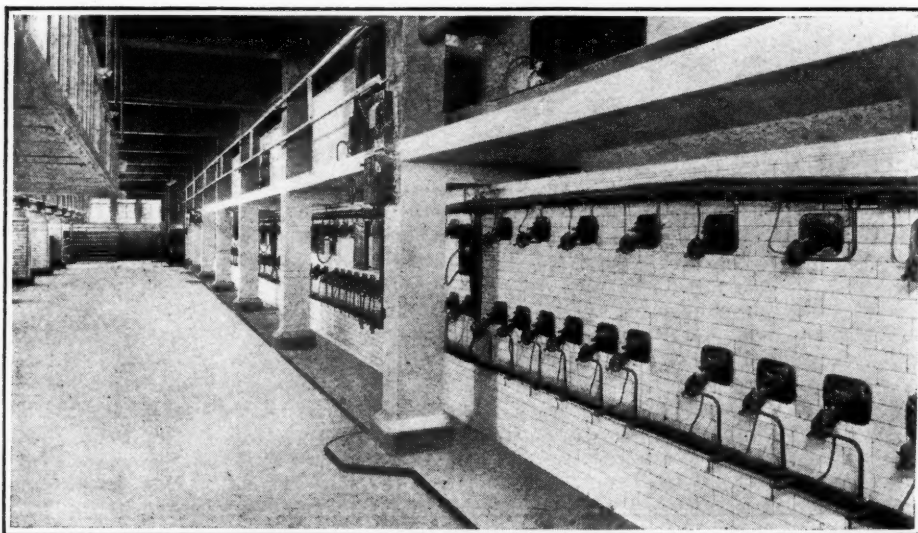
In the Second Century, B. C., public bakehouses became common among the Romans, and in the ruins of Pompeii loaves of bread have been found made by such bakehouses and stamped with the baker's name.

Throughout the Middle Ages the laws, restrictions, and regulations laid down governing the price, weight, and adulteration of bread prepared in bakeries

prove conclusively that the bakers supplied a considerable part of the needs of the people of the cities.

#### *An Industry with a Daily "Turnover"*

So it will be seen that the baker has been with us for several thousand years. But it is only within the last twenty-five years that the industry has become one in which bakeries comparable in size to our great factories have come into being, and only within about fifteen years has the industry



THE OVEN IN A MODERN BAKERY

(This oven is 110 feet long, and each loaf of bread travels the entire length, moving constantly. The heat is regulated at every stage of the journey)



become, in its most advanced aspects, worthy of comparison with others. Now it ranks seventh among all the industries in America, but despite its size there is a shortage of the great bakeries upon which we are more and more coming to depend.

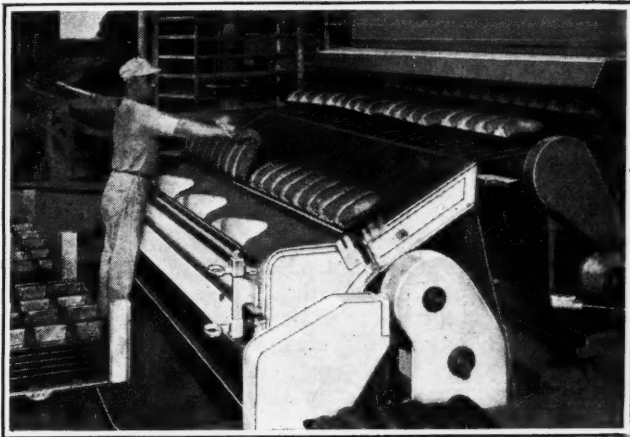
Baking, as it is done by the giant bakeries of to-day, comes near to being an ideal manufacturing business. These great plants operate from late afternoon until morning, turning out fifty or sixty or, perhaps, a hundred thousand loaves in that time. Yet by noon there is often not a single loaf of bread to be found in these huge buildings, and by evening the cash in payment for almost every loaf baked the night before is in the company's safe.

I asked how large an inventory of bread might normally be carried, and was told that there was none, although a single bakery may bake thirty or more million loaves a year. The only inventory these bakeries have is one on which a large supply of flour is in evidence (perhaps enough for two months' operation, for flour improves with age), and a comparatively small supply of lard, sugar, and salt. Yeast is bought daily, and such items as raisins and caraway seed are almost too small for serious consideration. There is no great and costly accumulation of raw materials and partly finished products, and no inventory of completed articles ready for sale.

#### *Deliverymen Who Sell and Collect*

Before the baking for one night is finished, the total of the next day's orders is known, and he is an inefficient manager who misses that total by a single gross of loaves, although the total output for the night may have been enough for the entire needs of a city of a quarter-million inhabitants.

Though the output of these bakeries is huge, the individual sales are small. Should a grocer order seventy-five loaves the amount delivered to him seems large to those of us who buy a loaf or two a day. Yet as these are loaves that retail at eight cents, the bakery collects only \$5.25 from



**FIVE THOUSAND LOAVES OF CRISP, WELL-BROWNED, THOROUGHLY BAKED BREAD EVERY HOUR**

(The loaves fall into the holes in front of the attendant, and pass into a cooling room where they remain for an hour and a half)

him. What they do, though, is highly desirable for the bakery, and is good business for the grocer: they collect the cash when the bread is delivered, and take the next day's order.

Each deliveryman, consequently, is a salesman, and is recognized as such. Barring a few accounts which a bakery may have with chain stores and other retail stores that sell in large quantities (and these are few), the salesman collects as he delivers, and it is against him that the bread is charged. When he returns with his empty truck, his order book has in it the number of loaves he will sell on the morrow, and so there is no over-production and, equally important, no under-production.

#### *The Great Bakery Combinations*

It was only sixteen years ago that the first consolidation of bakeries was effected. This merger, now known as the General Baking Company, brought under one head bakeries in Buffalo, Providence; Washington, Canton, Cleveland, Rochester, Boston, New York, St. Louis, Jersey City, Detroit, Toledo, and New Orleans. This was accomplished by Max Oscher, an investment banker of New York, who has since died. He had the vision to see the necessity for the modernization of bakeries, and his first consolidation has since been duplicated many times. So little did investors realize the importance of the move, and so hazily did they see its future, that at first the General Baking Company was forced to

struggle strenuously to keep its head above water. Yet stock in this company, which then sold for \$7 or \$8 a share, has sold as high as \$160, and the person who, in 1909 or 1910, had put in \$7,000 or \$8,000 would have been worth \$160,000 as a result.

Since 1910 other consolidations have been effected. The Continental Baking Corporation, the Ward Baking Company, the Purity Bakeries Corporation, and the Southern Bakeries Corporation, are the most important ones. These that I have named have from a score to more than a hundred plants, some of which are in widely scattered cities.

With going concerns to show the way, other consolidations are now being planned or financed. These range in size from comparatively small ones to those of gigantic size. The Purity Bakeries Corporation is one that has recently been formed. It is a consolidation of twenty-five baking plants, mostly in the Middle West, and is capitalized at \$25,000,000.

The Continental Baking Corporation, is the largest of them all. At this writing its stock is selling for approximately 160 million dollars in the market. In order to earn 6 per cent. on this market value (if its profit should be one cent a loaf), this corporation will have to sell about one billion loaves a year. Nearly three million a day!

A company with an output of one billion loaves annually would supply 5 per cent. of the total needs of the country, our annual

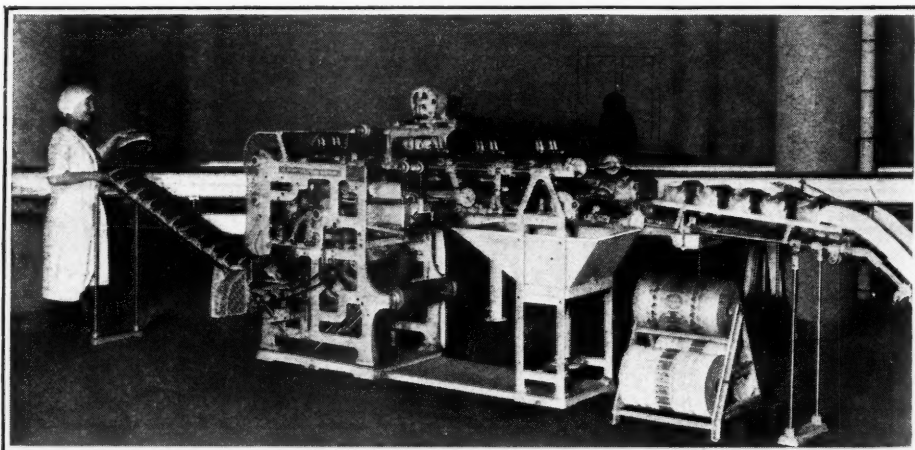
consumption of bread being estimated by the Government at twenty billion loaves. At present about twelve billion loaves are turned out by the bakeries, and the remainder is baked in the homes.

The Ward Baking Company, which is second in size in the country, has securities outstanding selling for approximately eighty-four million dollars.

### *Stability, and a Future*

One thing, in particular, makes baking an exceptionally stable business: whether times are good or bad, whether we have much or little in the bank, we must have bread. Steaks and chops we like, and will have when we can afford them, but cut our incomes to a minimum, and bread we still must have. Hard times, then (and this has been demonstrated), do not noticeably cut the sale of bread. Some think that hard times increase it; at any rate the big bakeries that are well on their financial feet all show a steady increase in their sales. Peaks and depressions are, perhaps, known by the bakeries, but they mark no such extreme changes as are common in other businesses.

That desirable consideration, together with the practical absence of an inventory, and the fact that practically all of their sales are for cash, all point rather strongly to a future when almost the whole of the country will eat bread made in these huge plants. The time may come when the housewifely worry as to whether or not the bread will "rise" will be entirely a trouble of the past.



THE FINAL STEP IN SANITARY, SCIENTIFIC BREAD-MAKING

(The loaves are automatically wrapped, after cooling, in dust-proof and moisture-proof waxed paper, and are carried to the delivery room. This illustration and the preceding ones were supplied by the Ward Baking Company)

# THE ELECTRIFICATION OF FRANCE

BY JOSEPH LEEMING

THE French Government has perfected plans calling for the annual expenditure of 100,000,000 francs for twenty years, whereby France will become the most highly electrified country in Europe.

The potential water-power of France is tremendous, due to the many rivers and streams flowing through the mountainous regions that are strategically located in various parts of the country. But France has lagged behind in hydroelectric development, partly because of the impossibility of obtaining sufficient funds to carry out the work and partly on account of the less pressing need for water-power, as until recent years there had been ample coal.

Italy, without coal, was forced to make use of the numerous waterfalls of the north, and in Austria and southern Germany the greater economy of "white coal" was realized some years ago and many power-houses were established before the war.

But the French have now awakened to a realization of the advantages of electrification, and work is already under way to change the railroads from steam to electricity. The main line of the Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean Railway, running south from Lyons to the Riviera and to Vintimille on the Italian border, will be the first "change-over" job to be effected. This will be followed by work on the Midi Railway which serves the southwest and the Pyrenees region, and then on the Paris-Orleans-Bordeaux line. In all, 8,000 miles of track will be electrified.

The first electric locomotive for use on the new system was manufactured jointly by the General Electric Company and the American Locomotive Company for the Compagnie Française Thomson Houston, who secured the order. The subsequent locomotives will be built in France, closely patterned after the original.

When the first locomotive was tested at the plant of the General Electric Company

at Erie, Pa., a speed of from 95 to 105 miles per hour was attained over a test track only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles in length. To reach these speeds the most rapid acceleration and slowing-up was necessary.

Full use will be made of the regenerative braking system by which a train going down grade reverses the functions of its motors and uses them as generators, thus effecting a saving of power amounting to between 40 and 60 per cent. This power is put back into the line and used to pull other trains up the high grades. In actual practice it works out that two trains going down a slope generate sufficient power to pull one train up.

Hydroelectric stations are to be erected in practically every favorable locality, and power will be distributed from them not only to the railways but to the surrounding communities. The Paris-Gennevilliers station—rated as the most powerful thermic electric plant in Europe—will furnish a supply of emergency current to the Orleans central plant, but the new stations will be relied on to furnish the bulk of the current.

This will mean a revolutionary change in the life of the French agriculturists. Heretofore the rural districts have had no electricity to speak of, their light being furnished by oil lamps and candles and the farm work being carried on by hand. The French Government now plans to institute a subsidized system of distribution to supply the needs of the country districts for light and power, which will make it possible to introduce electric threshing machines and all other agricultural labor-saving devices. There should be a profitable market for American appliances.

With a plentiful supply of "white coal," progress in all lines of industrial and agricultural activity is assured for France. Her investment in electrification will immeasurably benefit peasant classes, her industrial interests, and the traveling public.

# THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

BY WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

IT CAN scarcely be doubted that the Russian Revolution is one of the most important historical phenomena of the last century. Since the French Revolution there has been no social upheaval of comparable depth and significance. The Russian Communist experiment has not only profoundly changed the face of Russia; it has also exerted a very considerable international influence, and in Asia at least this influence seems likely to increase rather than to diminish. Because of their extraordinary, disciplined organization it may very well prove that the Russian Communists have imprinted a more definite and permanent stamp upon the course of their country's development than was the case with the French Jacobins. Now that the flow of revolutionary lava has ceased and the volcanic crust has begun to cool and harden it is possible to take stock of the evolution of the Russian Revolution, to attempt an analysis of its main driving forces, its immediate results and its probable lines of development.

Russian communism, despite its materialistic philosophy and phraseology, has almost all the psychological characteristics of a fanatical religious movement. Its appeal is to faith and emotion, to discipline and authority, not to questioning reason. Doubts and waverings in the Marxian faith are represented to the young Communist as the most heinous sins and the surest proofs of "bourgeois" ideology. Last winter the writer heard the Soviet Commissar for Education, Lunacharsky, deliver an address on communist ethical standards before a student audience, which was largely made up of young Communists. Lunacharsky preached disciplined, unquestioning obedience to the party authority as the highest virtue, and he almost rivalled the Rev. "Billy" Sunday in his vehement denunciations of the depraved intellectuals who wished to introduce elements of doubt into the young minds of the country.

## *Unquestioned Authority of Marx*

The general viewpoint of the Russian Communists is that Marxism, as interpreted and amplified by Lenin, provides an ultimate solution for all human problems, political and economic, moral and aesthetic. The strongest card which the ruling triumvirate in the Communist party—Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev—were able to play against Trotsky in the controversies of 1923 and 1924 was their constantly repeated assertion that he was trying to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism.

The average Communist has an implicit faith in the wisdom of Marx. At the close of a factory committee meeting one of the members came up to me, pointed to a copy of Marx's "Capital" which was lying on the table and observed: "Whenever we encounter any problem that we can't solve ourselves we open that book and find the answer."

## *The Worship of Lenin*

Lenin is naturally the object of a far warmer and more personal devotion than is Marx. While Marx is only a figure of a very wise man with a long beard, Lenin is a flesh-and-blood leader whom many of the Communists have actually seen and whom all regard with boundless admiration. The short, stocky man who can still be seen lying with clenched hands and wrinkled brow in the glass case in his sepulchre outside the Kremlin wall has attracted a measure of adulation bordering on worship such as only great religious leaders have received in the past.

Every day delegations and individuals make pilgrimages to Lenin's grave. Practically every factory has a sort of shrine in the shape of a "Lenin corner" where pictures showing various episodes in his life, and other memorials, are preserved. This is also true of many institutions and private houses. "The commandments of



Lenin," short and pithy extracts from his writings, are posted up in many places. Leninism has become a cult which possesses tremendous authority for the rank-and-file Communists and the working-class sympathizers with the party and which excites somewhat vaguer and less definite reactions among those peasants who have come under the influence of Communist agitation and propaganda.

### *Party Organization*

Like many groups of religious enthusiasts the Russian Communists have built up an effective, close-knit, firmly disciplined organization; and in this fact lies much of the secret of their success in seizing and holding power. The party now counts about 700,000 members and candidates for admission who are on probation; but the making of its decisions and the shaping of its policies really rest in the hands of the small group of old revolutionists who occupy the dominant strategic posts in the party organization as members of the Central Committee and secretaries of the important provincial and city branches. The Central Committee comes up for reelection at the annual party congress. But the delegates to this congress are chosen by an indirect method of election which makes for the perpetuation of the group in power, and for years there has been no change in the composition of the Political Bureau, the inner steering committee of seven members which really directs the work of the large, unwieldy Central Committee. (The members of the Political Bureau are Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Trotsky, Tomsy and Bukharin).

The only serious revolt against the authority of the Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev triumvirate crystallized about the personality of Trotsky in the winter of 1923-1924. It was decisively suppressed, and although Trotsky has recently received some economic administrative posts he has been stripped of his historic position as War Commissar and discredited in the eyes of the party masses as a heretic who attempted to undermine the principles of Leninism.

Subordinated to the Central Committee is an elaborate bureaucratic hierarchy. When the Central Committee adopts a decision it is promptly communicated to all the provincial party committees, and through these organs it filters down rapidly to the individual party members. In this manner

the Soviet officials, who are mostly Communists, and the party local branches in the factories and offices and villages know just what line they must take on any problems which may be under discussion. The influence of this organized Communist leaven working among the backward Russian population is very great, especially in view of the fact that the party has a firm grip on political power and monopolizes the press and the other agencies of instruction and propaganda.

### *Care in Recruiting Communist Leaders*

Indiscriminate joining of the Communist party is not encouraged. At the present time intellectuals are almost barred from membership. They must pass through a probationary period of five years and obtain recommendations from five veteran Communists. Manual workers on the other hand are encouraged to join, and the growth of the party from about 400,000 to about 700,000 during the last two years has been largely due to the influx of new working-class members. Peasants and office workers are admitted rather sparingly and grudgingly.

The Russian Communists have not proved exceptions to the familiar historical rule that it is much easier for a resolute fanatical group to seize power in the name of an ideal than to realize the ideal itself. Like all persecuted groups which have suddenly leaped to power they are faced with the problem of combating careerism and degeneration in their own ranks.

The party recognizes that it is necessary to be on guard against seekers after loaves and fishes who are more interested in their own personal advancement than in the teachings of Marx and Lenin. The Communist leaders have instituted a number of measures with a view to keeping the party free from these self-seeking elements. Strict theoretical and practical tests are required of candidates for admission; periodical "cleansings" are carried out by committees recruited from old revolutionists of proved austerity and actual manual workers. These committees scrutinize the records of the individual party members and reprimand or recommend for expulsion those who are found guilty of corruption, luxurious living and other offenses.

But all these mechanical measures can scarcely be said to fulfil adequately their purpose of keeping the party free from the

stigma of careerism. Leninism, as well as older and more established creeds, can be made an object of hypocritical devotion and the sincere fanaticism of the older Communists sometimes makes them easy dupes of clever impostors who profess ardent devotion to the cause of the proletariat in public while they cherish the bourgeois fleshpots of comfortable living in private.

The older Communists, the men with records of pre-revolutionary activity in the movement, generally make an impression of convincing sincerity, and some of them are very impressive in their ascetic devotion to their ideals. One also recognizes a good deal of honest, straightforward, simple-minded loyalty among the actual working-class members of the party, especially among those who entered it during the stormy years of revolution and civil war. On the other hand, the middle layers of the party, from which the Soviet bureaucracy is largely recruited, certainly include many individuals who are neither workers nor revolutionary idealists, but simply pushing adventurers who see in the party a road to political advancement, and are sufficiently clever to avoid the more or less sporadic cleansings.

On the whole it might be fair to say that the Russian Communists have about the proportion of saints and hypocrites which one might reasonably expect among devotees of a new sect which has the complete backing of the state organization and constitutes the sole passport to political influence and power.

#### *Just What Has Communism Achieved?*

There is, of course, no supernatural element in Russian Communism. The Communists promise, in Trotsky's grandiloquent phrase to make "a paradise in this world" by reorganizing society along Marxian lines, transferring to the state most of the functions which have hitherto been exercised by the private capitalist, and creating a form of state which shall be under the control of the working-class.

This, to be sure, is an ultimate goal, not a present-day Russian reality. There is no communism in Russia to-day, if by communism one understands communal living and sharing of goods. Members of the Communist party are restricted to an income of 192 rubles (about 100 dollars) a month. But this does not make for anything like absolute equality even among

Communists, because the working-class members of the party generally receive much less than the party maximum income, while Communists in responsible posts are likely to receive "extras" in the shape of automobiles, comfortable living-quarters at nominal rentals, liberal traveling expenses, and so forth.

#### *Varying Standards*

Outside the Communist ranks there is not even an effort to realize material equality. Work is graded and paid for according to skill and quantity of production, not according to the need of the worker. In the interests of efficiency it has been found advisable to pay fairly high salaries to commercial and industrial experts. There is no limit on the profits of individuals engaged in trade and other private enterprises; but the taxes imposed by the central and local governments are calculated to prevent any very rapid accumulation of private fortunes. Members of the professional classes, teachers, doctors, writers, and others, have not made out very well under the Communist régime. They are subjected to many of the disadvantages imposed upon the Nepman, or private trader, in such matters as paying heavy taxes and rents, and they lack the Nepman's facilities for making money.

The workers earn what the state industries can afford to pay: according to the latest Soviet figures factory workers are now receiving 78.7 per cent. of pre-war real wages. Office workers are further below the pre-war standard. There has been a marked growth of inequality among the peasants since the introduction of the New Economic Policy. The shrewder, thriftier and more capable peasants have forged ahead, while 40 per cent. of the entire peasant population are still without horses. From this brief sketch one can perceive that standards of living for various classes of the population vary considerably in Russia, just as they do in other countries.

#### *State Management of Industry and Trade*

What is distinctive in the present stage of the Communist experiment is not any general levelling of the material living standards of the population, but rather the introduction of a state-capitalist system in the management of the country's economic life. Under this system the Soviet Government, through one of its commissariats,

the Supreme Economic Council, manages the large industrial enterprises and controls the imports and exports through the Commissariat for Foreign Trade. The banks are in the hands of the state; and co-operative and state agencies play a large rôle in trade. Retail trade, the leasing of small factories and miscellaneous speculation are the chief activities left open to private capital.

Viewed dispassionately this state-capitalist system does not seem to work either as badly as the average foreign banker believes or as brilliantly as the average sentimental guest of the Soviet Government imagines. Statistics and personal observations alike indicate a noteworthy advance in the condition of trade and industry and transport during the last four years. Wages have advanced; production has increased; the productivity of labor has improved, especially during the last year. (This last gain, it must be observed, has been achieved largely through the introduction of the piece work system, which is so much disliked by workers in other countries). Three years ago the pre-war, production level for most branches of industry seemed unattainable. To-day some of the industries have passed this level; and the achievement of pre-war production seems quite feasible in almost all branches in the near future, with the exception of the mining and metallurgical industries, which are especially hard hit by the general shortage of capital.

#### *Inefficiency and Graft*

At the same time the indisputable facts that the prices of Russian industrial goods are much higher than they were before the war, that wages are lower and the quality of the goods is worse, would seem to indicate the existence of certain defects in the new system of production. And, as one knocks about Russian factories and burrows into the economic reports of Russian newspapers one is apt to reach the conclusions that the practice of almost invariably appointing Communists to the responsible posts in economic administration does not always make for efficiency, that the friction which sometimes exists between the Communist managers and the old-time technical specialists in the industries does not promote the best interests of production, and that the traditional Russian vices of graft and bureaucracy constitute an es-

pecially heavy liability in a state-controlled system of industrial management.

In a country where cheating the government on contracts has long been a recognized habitual practice, the experiment of letting the government manage most of the industry and much of the trade was bound to lead to some unfortunate results; and the number of Soviet captains of trade and industry who have betrayed the proletarian cause and struck unholy bargains with bourgeois speculators at the expense of the state is not inconsiderable. Even more harmful, perhaps, than open corruption, is the peculiar Russian bureaucratism which is reluctant to settle any problem, however small, without an endless series of conferences and committee meetings, and refuses to consider any transaction as valid until at least half a dozen persons have passed on and affixed stamps to all the documents.

#### *Overproduction and Unemployment*

The Soviet experiment has so far given little practical proof of the validity of the theoretical socialist contention that the centralization of financial and industrial power in the hands of the state will provide a guaranty against overproduction, unemployment and similar economic abnormalities. The Soviet Union passed through a severe sales crisis in the fall of 1923; and if this has not been repeated the explanation seems to lie in the tremendous popular need for goods, rather than in any special protective virtue of the Soviet economic system. It is not only private capitalists who sometimes miscalculate their market. State trusts may produce more than they can sell and co-operatives may order more than their customers can buy.

There was a crisis of overproduction in the coal industry in the summer of 1924. The country was unable to absorb the increased production of the Donetz Basin mines, and it was difficult to export coal because of the high costs. The Soviet Government dealt with this crisis very much as mine owners would have been likely to deal with it in capitalist countries. The less profitable mines were closed; production was temporarily cut down, and incidentally tens of thousands of miners were thrown out of work.

The Soviet Government has not invented any distinctively new method of dealing with the problem presented by Russia's million registered unemployed. A certain

proportion get doles, and some find employment at very low wages on public works. Others are organized in little co-operative groups for trade and hand industry. The rest shift as best they can.

These defects and shortcomings should not prejudice the case against state capitalism. The Communists would be justified in arguing that their system naturally works worst in its early stages and that time and experience may be expected to cure many of its faults.

#### *The Shortage of Capital*

Perhaps the most serious threat to the survival of the Soviet economic system in its present form is the difficulty which has developed in connection with accumulating working capital for the country's trade and industry. In other countries the inflow of fresh capital which is needed to lubricate the wheels of industry and trade comes from the profits of wealthy individuals and corporations and from the investments and savings of wage-and-salary-earners. The large capitalist has been eliminated from the scene in Russia and the general standard of living is still too low to encourage or indeed permit the accumulation of much new capital from the savings of the population. And the state industries and trade agencies have not been able to create the fresh reserves of capital which they need out of their own profits. This acute capital shortage and its inevitable accompaniment, the goods shortage, may be largely attributed to the fact that the Russian industries, because of their lack of capital, cannot increase their production rapidly enough to satisfy the demands of the consumers. These two factors were of paramount importance in bringing the Soviet Government to make the recent further concessions to the private capitalist element in Russian economic life which are implied in the so-called Neonep or Newest Economic Policy.

#### *Welcoming Private Capital*

Under this policy the Soviet Government will encourage rather than repress the participation of private capital in retail trade by cutting down the excessive taxes and rentals which were formerly imposed upon private traders and by giving these merchants easier credit terms and readier access to the goods produced in the state factories. The restrictions on leasing small

factories to private individuals have been relaxed. A more liberal policy in granting concessions to foreign capitalist groups is foreshadowed by the signing of a twenty-years' concession agreement with the W. A. Harriman interests for the development of the large manganese fields near Chiatouri in Georgia, and by the conclusion of a preliminary agreement with an Anglo-American group for the exploitation of the Lena River gold-fields and various iron, copper, lead and zinc mines in Siberia and the Urals.

#### *Soviet Dealings with the Peasants*

Most important of all, the Soviet Government has executed a very significant right-about face in its policy toward the peasants. The details of this change were discussed by the present writer in the October number of this REVIEW. The Russian peasant has always been something of a puzzle to the Communists. Their prophet, Marx, had anticipated an extension of industrial methods to agriculture and the supplanting of the small farm by the large estate. Since this process had not taken place on any large scale in Russia the Communists were without any very reliable theoretical compass; and their agrarian policy seems to have been guided largely by political and economic expediency.

The vast majority of the peasants were glad to follow the Bolshevik lead in 1917 because this gave them the opportunity to seize the large estates of the Czar, the Church and the big landlords. But all the peasants who had anything to lose keenly resented the policy of requisitioning surplus grain which the Soviet Government inaugurated in 1918. At this time, in order to split the ranks of the peasants and gain allies in the villages, the Soviet Government created "Committees of the Poor," recruited from the most destitute peasants. These committees were supplied with arms and military support from the center and commissioned to carry out the requisitions and also to seize and divide up the surplus property of the richer peasants. The Communists cherished a rather naïve hope that the committees would serve as a basis for "a new socialist order" in the villages. The committees faithfully carried out their instructions so far as despoiling their richer neighbors was concerned but they accomplished very little in the way of introducing collectivist methods in Russian



agriculture. They made themselves so much hated by their abuses and exactions that the Soviet Government abolished them, from considerations of political expediency, during the civil war. The system of requisitions was dropped under the pressure of peasant discontent when the New Economic Policy was introduced in 1921.

#### *Burdensome Restrictions*

However, even under the era of free trade which followed the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the village Communist officials generally pursued the policy of harassing and repressing the more prosperous and efficient peasants, who were naturally the first to recover from the devastations of civil war and famine. A peasant who had more than the average amount of stock and machinery was apt to find himself called a "kulak" or "fist," and to be excluded from the village Soviet elections. He was forbidden to employ hired labor on land which he might lease in excess of his normal allotment. If he employed labor on his allotment he was compelled to observe the eight-hour working day, to pay contributions to the social insurance fund and to submit to heavier taxation.

This policy of forcible levelling among the peasantry did not lead to favorable economic results. Forty per cent. of the Russian peasants have no horses, and these very poor peasants were unable either to farm their own land effectively or to work for their more prosperous neighbors. At the same time there was a much smaller proportion of fairly rich peasants who could easily farm additional land but who were held back by the restrictions. The situation made both for rural unemployment and for inefficient farming.

#### *Partially Removed*

Pressed by these considerations and by the need for increased agricultural production, the Soviet Government published a number of regulations, described as temporary but not limited to any definite period of time, which removed the restrictions on leasing land and hiring labor and exempted peasants who employ no more than three workers from observing the eight-hour day and paying social insurance contributions. It can scarcely be doubted that these regulations will improve economic conditions in the villages.

At the same time they pave the way for the emergence of a fairly prosperous farmer class which will scarcely be very susceptible to Communist influence.

#### *Results of the Revolution*

The Communist economic experiment is still in a distinctly transition stage. The political stability of the Soviet Government seems to exclude the possibility of any sudden violent abandonment of the state capitalist system. But the shortage of capital which seems likely to be a permanent factor in Russian life for some years may quite conceivably bring about further changes, modifications and concessions to private capital and enterprise along the lines of the Newest Economic Policy. Apart from the shifting and more or less experimental economic institutions one can distinguish three outstanding results of the Revolution which seem to have the elements of permanence.

First, the old aristocratic land-owning class has been swept away, and the land has passed into the hands of the peasants. No conceivable overturn can dispossess the hundred million peasant proprietors and restore the land to the former noble owners. It is not the least of the ironies of the Russian Revolution that the Communists, sworn enemies of a social order based on the idea of private property, should have been the historical instrument for realizing the very ardent desire of the Russian peasants to set themselves up as small property-owners, freed from dependence on the big landlords.

#### *Non-Russian Nationalities Recognized*

A second important result of the Revolution has been the formal recognition of the individuality of the non-Russian nationalities of the former Russian Empire. It was an exceedingly wise and far-sighted stroke of policy on the part of the Soviet Government to take full account of the fact that almost half the population of the Soviet Union is made up of non-Russians and to give the Ukrainians, White Russians, Armenians, Tartars, Turcomans and other minor races full freedom to use their own language in the schools, courts and general public administration. This policy of granting full cultural autonomy to the non-Russian people stands in distinct contrast to the general tendency among the newly established European states to force a

single language and culture upon the national minorities.

### *Social Democracy*

Somewhat more difficult to define but quite unmistakable is the third permanent result of the Revolution; the new spirit of social democracy in Russia. This social democracy has nothing to do with political and intellectual liberty, which can scarcely be said to find much scope under the Communist dictatorship. It finds expression rather in such figures as the former Leningrad metal worker who is now administering a large province, and the former peasant soldier who rose rapidly in the days of the civil war until he is now commanding a division or a regiment in the Red Army.

There has been a profound social upheaval in Russia: a general breaking of class lines and scrambling together of different social elements. The Russian Revolution has given the ambitious worker and peasant more chance to push ahead; it has swept away everything in the nature of caste repressions and inhibitions. It has also released and thrown to the top a good deal of blatant, ignorant, conceited mediocrity. The rule of what the Russians call the broad masses has its drawbacks in Russia as well as in Tennessee. But, whether one likes it or not, a rough, crude spirit of social democracy seems destined to be one of the most vital forces in shaping Russia's development in the near future.

It may be observed in this connection that the Revolution has played havoc with all the old familiar generalizations about the Russian national character. The dreamy, introspective, mystical types which are so familiar in Russian literature have vanished and given way to a younger generation which is almost American in its devotion to machinery and athletics and generally cultivates a decidedly practical and materialistic outlook on life.

Perhaps the most important political development in Russia during the last year has been the awakening consciousness of the peasants. The Communists themselves recognize that they can no longer rule in the villages with the rough and arbitrary

methods which prevailed during the civil war, and the peasants are gaining more freedom in electing the local Soviets. It seems probable that the next few years in Russia will witness a process of gradual compromise and adjustment between the collectivist state and the individualistic peasants. The essentially conservative influence of the peasants on the Soviet Government is bound to grow as the peasants become more educated and as the Communist policy of ruthlessly suppressing all opposition which is to some extent a product of the civil war undergoes some modification.

Ultimately, especially if there are no successful revolutionary movements in other countries, it may turn out that the chief achievement of the Bolshevik upheaval was the transformation of Russia into a peasant democracy, based on a system of small property-ownership, with an added element of state socialism in the management of the country's industries and foreign trade. It will not be the first time that a great revolution has led to results which its authors did not desire or anticipate.

With their effective blend of fanaticism and disciplined organization the Communists have been amazingly successful in building up a powerful and apparently quite stable government in Russia. Whether their technique of force and propaganda is a practical means of laying the foundation of a genuine coöperative commonwealth is perhaps open to question. A sceptical mind can find good cause for doubt in the fact that the capitalist incentive of unequal material rewards has such a strong hold in Russia to-day. Even within the ranks of the party a member's standard of living (one excepts a few of the old-time ascetic revolutionists) is apt to reflect pretty accurately his standing in the bureaucratic hierarchy. It would indeed be a negation of the materialistic philosophy of the Communists if the constant reiteration of the "commandments of Lenin" should prove a stronger force in molding the character of the people than the prevalent economic system of unequal material rewards.



# A VISIT TO THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC

BY MAGDA COE

WITH an imagination quickened by what personal friends had told me of their recent travels through the Near East to the Caucasus, I left London last Easter Monday to visit Russian Armenia. Going by boat from Marseilles, I reached Batum at the end of April—a voyage of unforgettable interest and beauty.

Thanks to the courtesy of officials and the fellowship and efficiency of the American Near East personnel, I proceeded to Tiflis by the midnight train, arriving at the American Mission House there in the morning. Thirty-six hours later I found myself at the capital city of Armenia after a comfortable journey on the train that goes to Persia.

I was totally unprepared for the many welcome surprises that awaited me in that country. Signs of rapid recovery from the recent devastation and famine met me everywhere. Only three years ago Erivan was a city of starving people. To-day the streets ring with the happy laughter of men, women and children. For the first time in their lives these people are now free from massacre and worse! Can we of the Western world realize what this means? Just a little imagination is required and then we shall understand and know that in this corner of the world, evolution has entered where so recently revolution was master. Moscow has saved Armenia.

My first and last impressions are of the people rather than of the healthy climate and exquisite beauty of the country. What immediately caught my attention was the elimination of all class distinctions. By that I mean in external aspects, such as clothing, furniture, food and social intercourse.

Throughout my visit I met with unfailing courtesy, eager hospitality, and warm friend-

ship from all members of the Armenian Government and the public. I made no secret concerning the purpose of my visit to the Armenian Republic, and I was soon to learn that there was no reason for secrecy, since both the Government and the people of Armenia honestly desire that the truth be told abroad concerning their safety and freedom to rebuild their broken fortunes. I found that I was perfectly free to investigate all public institutions. Also I enjoyed the privilege of visiting many private homes, and for seven weeks I went into many regions, filled with a growing wonder and deep admiration for this brave little republic. I was able to make a close inspection of schools, orphanages, hospitals, child welfare centers, factories, museums, libraries and other public buildings.

No one has ever seriously questioned the industry, all-round efficiency and high moral qualifications of Armenians, but I was not prepared for the excellent progress that I found in all departments, public and private. But everywhere one is faced with the ever-present need of money—a need so insistent, so great, that I was humbled before such courage and perseverance.



THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC AND ITS NEIGHBORS

There is so much wealth in the world and yet Armenia is to-day having to fight for her national life against the heaviest handicap—lack of money.

The brief statistics printed below will give some idea of the natural wealth of this country. Given financial assistance, in a short time there would not only be a rapid recovery but a generous return to those who had invested their money there.

Those who are desirous of obtaining more complete information upon the rapid recovery of Armenia are referred to the excellent report by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, who visited Russian Armenia last June, accompanied by a commission of experts, for the purpose of reporting to the League of Nations on the various proposals for the settlement of Armenian refugees in that country.

I made inquiry of many local residents concerning their freedom to worship in church and elsewhere, and this is what I learned: For the first time in the history of this people the church is now separated from the state and free to work out its own salvation. No religion is allowed to be taught in secular schools, neither are children compelled to attend church, but children and adults are being taught a code of ethics similar to what is being taught in the schools throughout the Western world.

One significant proof of the change and rapid modifications that are now taking place there is seen in the recent visit of Messrs. Rykoff and Tchicherin last March to Etchmiadzin, when they spent three hours in friendly intercourse with the Catholics and clergy of the Armenian Church.

Yet another subject—the dreaded Cheka—and here I got a complete answer to my inquiry concerning its present activities and one that gives me peculiar pleasure to

repeat: "The Cheka no longer exists in Armenia in the sense that it did three years ago. In those terrible days fear ruled everyone and that state of mind made it possible for those who had the least suspicion or personal grudge against another to have that person arrested and many innocent persons suffered. But everything is becoming more normal, and to-day the Cheka is without final authority, as all questions affecting that department must be referred to the Minister of the Interior who in turn passes them to a Minister of Justice. Therefore the fullest investigation is now made into any case that comes before the Cheka."

It has been said that there are two ways to write history. One way is to recount events as they have been heretofore reasonably established; the other is to interpret those events in the light of the conditions that gave rise to them.

Everywhere in that ancient country I saw the fading away of those grim and ghastly struggles that so recently convulsed Russian Armenia and already a state of happy well-being is spread over the life of this nation, bringing healing and normal unfoldment to all within its borders. Erivan is one of the most orderly and law-abiding cities I have yet seen. Only three years ago anarchy and death patrolled all its streets and black despair reigned in every heart. To-day her people are restored and hope radiates from every center of her life.

Surely the nature of this drama must make a powerful appeal to the human imagination. The meaning and instinct of it will overshadow and enrich our day, and many generations to follow, and to us is given the golden opportunity to hold out to this brave people the right hand of fellowship *now*.

#### STATISTICS FOR RUSSIAN ARMENIA

Population within the Republic—not less than 1,250,000.

Area—15,240 square miles—a little larger than Belgium.

Exports, 1924—chiefly cotton, wine, tobacco, silk, wool. Imports—chiefly textile goods, sugar, fuel, food.

Agricultural production:

	Grain, grapes and fruit	Cotton	Wine	Fruit canning
1923.....	15,000,000	2,000,000	3,000,000	300,000
1924.....	24,000,000	6-7,000,000	5,000,000	1,000,000

Copper—Zanguesour mines: Old mines and mills reopened July, 1924. Production of pure copper to end of year, 960 tons. Owing to lack of money it was not possible to employ more than 500 men.

Textile spinning-mills: Factory now being completed at Leninaktran will employ 3,000 men and women.

Leather tanneries: 1923 produced 5,000 pieces per month. 1924, 12,000 pieces per month.

Irrigation: In 1922, 12,150 acres were reopened to irrigation. In 1924 (autumn), 43,200 acres opened, calculated to increase grain cultivation by 16,000 tons; cotton cultivation by 1,100 tons.

Cotton: Crop in 1924 amounted to 180,000 poods (approximately 3,600 tons).

Water: Plentiful and of excellent quality.



# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## Why Crime Goes Unpunished

IT IS admitted that our administration of the criminal law is ineffective, but just where is the weak spot in the system? Judge Charles C. Nott, Jr., of the Court of General Sessions, New York City, believes that it is not so much in our police forces or our prosecutors or our courts as in our juries, which he says is equivalent to finding it in the people's general attitude toward the criminal. In *Scribner's Magazine* for January Judge Nott ventures, after twenty-three years spent in the administration of the criminal laws, to present his ideas on the situation.

Making every allowance for the difficulty of obtaining precise statistics in most of the United States, there still remains little room for doubt, in Judge Nott's opinion, that the volume of crimes in this country, both against the person and against property, is appallingly large.

It has been calculated that if the ratio of criminal homicides to population were the same here as in England, we would have about 480 criminal homicides a year in the United States, instead of which we have over 8,000. In the last ten years we have suffered over 85,000 of them (more than our losses in killed in the World War) instead of the 4,800 which the English ratio would have produced. The ratios of larcenies, robberies, and burglaries are indicated as still more unfavorable to us. The larceny business, in all its different forms and ramifications, may fairly be described as one of the most important and flourishing in the country, and the value of its annual "turn-over" is colossal—not less than three billion dollars, according to the calculations of the burglary and theft insurance companies. The larcenies of automobiles alone amount to millions of dollars a year; the amounts of goods stolen while in transit, from railroads, express companies, and steamship lines, run into millions more; while the "hold-up" department of the business has of late years made astonishing progress, and the swindling and "get-rich-quick" department turn in their millions with increasing regularity, and the workers in the burglary and embezzlement branches can point with pride to their earned profits.

The law-breaking is beyond dispute, but

what, if anything, is wrong with our criminal laws? Judge Nott thinks that the statutes themselves compare well with the corresponding Canadian statutes. Yet conditions are far worse on this side of the boundary line. As to the administration of the law, in all parts of this country it is less efficient than in some other countries, but it is also true that in some parts of this country it is at least as efficient as in some other countries, and yet Judge Nott finds even in such parts the percentage of crime is higher with us.

To return to the workings of our jury system: It is the tendency among American juries to deliver a verdict in accordance with the sympathies and prejudices of the jurors rather than with the evidence presented in court. Human life (except that of a defendant) is held very cheap in our jury rooms, according to Judge Nott.



THE JURY AND THE CRIMINAL  
From the News (Cleveland, O.)

It is this attitude on the part of juries in homicide cases, as much or more than any one other thing, that causes the enormous percentage of acquittals in this country in such cases, with the consequently enormous number of homicides.

This quality in American juries is the expression of a wide and underlying attitude in the mass of our people toward the criminal. Of course, every one has, and expresses, a dislike for crime in the abstract, but in dealing with the concrete manifestations of crime, which is the criminal, this attitude of good-natured sympathy and tolerance for him, and of indifference to the evil he accomplishes, goes far toward paralyzing the efforts of judges and prosecutors.

Among the many writers who have recently commented on the failure of American legal and judicial institutions to measure up to the burdens that are imposed upon them, perhaps none stands higher in the public estimation than Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School who writes in the January *Harper's* on "The Crisis in American Law."

At the beginning of his article Dean Pound speaks of the growing volume of criminal prosecutions in our large cities, where the courts are compelled because of the choking of prosecuting machinery to dismiss hundreds of cases without acting on them. The authorities charged with the enforcement of our manifold laws bring into court scores of violators of these laws of whom the courts are able to deal with only a small number with such apparatus as they have at hand. On the civil side, too, trial calendars are always in arrears. Business men complain that the rules followed by the courts are frequently narrow and antiquated, while the methods of ascertaining facts are not adapted to the controversies of to-day.

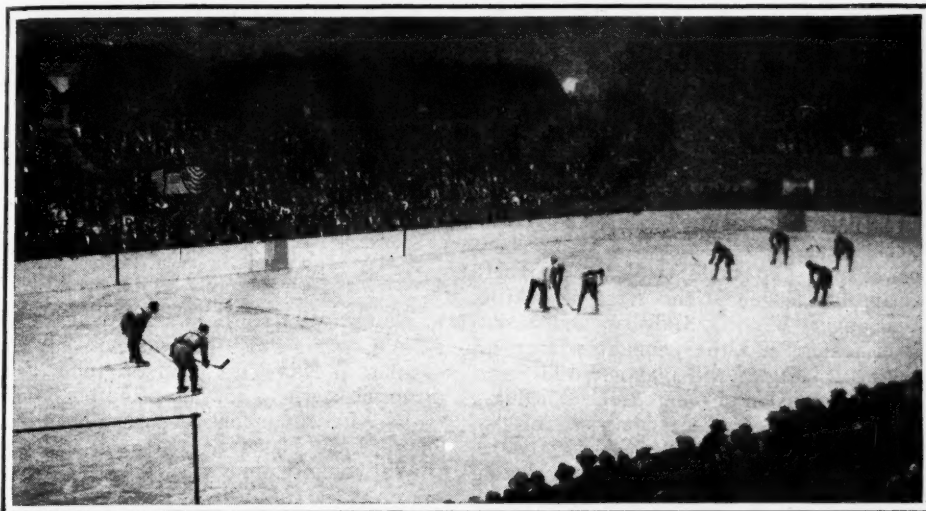
Dean Pound finds that this deplorable situation had a parallel in our early history as a nation. In periods of transition difficulties in judicial administration may be expected. We are again in such a period. Our system of substantive law and the machinery of prosecution, administration, judicial organization, legal procedure and penal treatment were devised in the first half of the Nineteenth Century for pioneer America in the agricultural stage. They are ill-adapted to the urban-industrial society of to-day. We would not think of trying to conduct the affairs of a modern industrial plant with the office methods of a century ago, and it is no more possible to conduct the business of the courts in the great cities to-day on the traditional lines

of the old English courts as modified in the early Nineteenth Century.

England had to go through a period of law-reform about fifty years ago, but with us the task is more complicated because we have a double system of courts, State and Federal. We cannot set up one system in all its details for all the courts of the country. Congress and the Legislatures of forty-eight States will provide to some extent in their own way for their respective jurisdictions.

The *World's Work* began in December the publication of a series entitled "The Rising Tide of Crime," by Lawrence Veiller. Mr. Veiller is chairman of the Criminal Courts Committee of the Charity Organization Society of New York. The editors state that he has compared his own findings with the studies made in other parts of this country and in other countries. In his first article Mr. Veiller told of the prevalence of crime and of some of the contributing causes. More men are killed with the pistol in New York City in one year than are murdered in all of England and Wales in the same period. Robbery is thirty-six times as prevalent in New York as in London, and in Chicago it is one-hundred times as prevalent.

In his second article, published in January, Mr. Veiller told how the law's technicalities often save the criminal from a deserved punishment. He also described the abuse of the bail privilege and declared that "the giving of bail for compensation should be absolutely prohibited by law." In his third article, appearing in the February number, the same writer shows that a murderer has a three-to-one chance that he will escape arrest, and so is free to commit other murders after the first. Even if the murderer is arrested he has a twelve-to-one chance of escaping conviction, and his chances of escaping the death penalty are one-hundred-to-one. If caught, the criminal may jump bail, and while on bail during the long delays in the courts he can continue his criminal practices. If he is finally convicted, he can still gain several years by appeals. The criminal bar makes a practice of getting criminals free and is often much abler than the average prosecuting attorney. Mr. Veiller shows that there are great abuses of the parole system. Clippings from the *Chicago Daily Tribune* graphically illustrate the fact that paroled convicts commit robberies and even murders.



ICE-HOCKEY IN THE NEW MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY

## Winter Sports: Carnival and Competitive

IN a country where it is often said that the worth of a University is judged largely by the prowess of the football team, where stardom in sport is rewarded by a public adulation not given to our stars of science or art, where the professional baseball player's salary far exceeds the humble editor's—it is only fitting that winter should find us as athletic as summer, and that its truly beautiful and skilled sports should receive the attention they merit.

As a matter of fact few lovers of the outdoors to-day mourn over the last rose of summer as they were wont to do. A dozen fascinating and varied winter sports are being exploited by many devotees with yearly increasing vigor.

Canada was perhaps the leader in this country in encouraging the interest and participation of the general public in winter sports by establishing Winter Sports Carnivals. Montreal, Quebec, and Ottawa are now the rendezvous not of a handful of adherents, but of thousands of devotees of tobogganing, dog-sled racing, figure skating, racing, and ice hockey, curling, snowshoeing, skiing, ski-jumping and ski-joring. Says a writer in *Sportlife*:

The Château Frontenac, situated on Dufferin Terrace, Quebec, has capitalized winter sports into a major industry. It has its own toboggan-slides and ski-jumps, its guides and instructors to teach its

guests the art of snowshoeing and skiing, its own husky dog team that its guests may summon for a spin through the winter snows as they would summon a taxi at another hotel.

Needless to say, St. Moritz in Switzerland is still the winter sportsman's Mecca. But failing this, America is rapidly developing excellent substitutes, such as Lake Placid, N. Y., Newburgh, N. Y., Saranac, N. Y., and the like. At the Lake Placid club, in the healthiest of atmospheres and under the most ideal conditions, people from all over the United States gather to skate on the wonderful rinks, to snowshoe and ski through the Adirondack woods, and to watch or participate in the ski-jumping and ice-skating championships which are held. The Olympic tryouts are made there. During Christmas week and after, intercollegiate hockey games are played there. A trophy won at Lake Placid means a great deal to its proud (and skillful) owner.

Perhaps the greatest single impetus to at least one winter sport, ice-hockey, has come during the past year. The New Madison Square Garden in New York, under the management of "Tex" Rickard, the well-known promotor, has established the game in New York City so that the publicity for a big professional league contest, an intercollegiate contest, or an amateur league contest rivals that which

football and baseball receive. The magnificent New Madison Square Garden arena has seating capacity for 17,000 persons and it is entirely filled night after night.

This year for the first time, a professional International Hockey League has been formed, the circuit including New York, Pittsburgh and Boston in the United States, and Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and Hamilton in Canada. The league will play a schedule of forty-two games, two a week. There is another league in the West of Seattle, Vancouver, Victoria, Calgary, and Saskatoon teams, and the pennant winners of these two leagues will play a World Series at the conclusion of their regular schedules. The Amateur League, composed of two Boston and three New York teams, mostly of ex-college players, including George Owen of Harvard and "Red" Hall of Dartmouth, plays a "double-header" game in its series once a week at the Garden. The rink so far surpasses any other in excellence and accessibility that Intercollegiate matches are usually held there. On every side one hears discussions about the rapidly mounting popularity of the game, which is one of the fastest and most exciting to watch in the world of sport, and it is prophesied that soon a professional hockey player will command the salary of a Big League baseball star.



SKI-JUMPING AT MONTREAL

A typical program for a week at the Garden is this for January 11th to 17th:

Monday: Professional hockey: *New York vs. Ottawa.*

Tuesday: *Yale vs. Dartmouth.*

Wednesday: Professional hockey: *New York vs. Canadians.*

Thursday: Thunberg, Olympic champion skater, in races with American and Canadian champions.

Friday: Boxing Match.

Saturday: *Yale vs. Princeton.*

Sunday: Two games between Amateur Hockey Clubs.

Thunberg and the other champion skaters have a circuit which includes not only the Garden in New York, and St. John, New Brunswick, where 20,000 spectators yearly watch the championships won, but Newburgh, Lake Placid, Saranac, and Chicago.

We cannot omit mention of Winter sports at the colleges. Princeton's new and magnificent rink was completed in 1923 as a memorial to Hobart Baker, foremost football and hockey player of his college generation, possibly of all times, who was killed during the war. The fund which built the arena was subscribed in part by Yale and Harvard as a tribute to this great sportsman.

Dartmouth has long been known for its Outing Club and its brilliant Winter Carnival, and the Dartmouth ski-jump is among the most famous in the world. This last year the Open Amateur Ski-Championship was held there during Carnival Week. Fancy skaters, professional and amateur, also exhibit, there is a toboggan slide, and all other possible facilities for wintry amusement. The Outing Club is responsible for much of the skill the Dartmouth men possess in skiing and snowshoeing. It maintains, besides the usual equipment, a chain of lodges through the hills that are used for mountain climbing in summer and as overnight or week-end shelters for energetic ski and snowshoe enthusiasts during the winter.

New centers for winter sports are springing up wherever snow and ice may be counted upon: Throughout New England, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, and the Canadian Rockies at Banff and Revelstoke, known as "the St. Moritz of America."

No better account of the glories of winter sports in Switzerland could be given than Arnold Lunn's, champion English skier and mountain-climber, in his recent book, "Mountains of Youth," a review of which appears on page 221 of this issue.



## Food from Our Frozen Deserts

**I**S AGRICULTURE keeping up with the world's population growth? The *Forum* (New York) is publishing a series of articles dealing with various phases of this question. In the January number Vilhjalmur Stefansson, writing on "Polar Pastures," submits the following thesis:

The authorities on world food supply do not agree whether population is going to increase so fast that starvation will result; but they do agree that we are going to run short of meat. This paper concerns itself with one stopgap in the dike we are building against that particular calamity.

Compulsory vegetarianism must come in any country whenever populations begins to press on food supply . . . for it is wasteful to produce meat on any land capable of producing vegetables that can be directly eaten by man. . . . For several men could have lived on the potatoes that might have been raised on the clover land that produced only the equivalent of one man's diet in beef and milk. . . .

It is, then, a fundamental principle that whenever it is impractical or impossible to import food, a nation is driven to vegetarianism as its population increases. The extent of meat eaten in a country that has as many people as it can feed, is, therefore, measured by two things—the number of pigs, chickens, or other similar animals that can be fed on slops and offal, and the number of animals that can be produced on lands which for some reason (drought, cold, etc.) are unsuitable for farming.

Mr. Stefansson's solution is one which he has often suggested before, but never more convincingly. His arguments are as follows:

Few desert lands unfit for wheat-raising are fit to support cattle in adequate amounts, and the chief reason for this is usually lack of water.

Until very recently the frozen deserts of the far north have been left out of man's estimates of the arable portions of the earth's surface.

Throughout the history of our civilization, the South has been the land of the past, the North the land of the future. . . .

It is no new thing in the true history of the world, but it is new in the sphere of our ideas, that we have in the Arctic and sub-Arctic the largest and potentially most productive permanent grazing lands in the world . . . by "permanent" we mean a grazing land which, so far as we can see at present, is not likely to be converted hereafter to the production of vegetables that are directly eaten by man.

There are 3,000,000,000 acres, some of it densely forested, some lightly, but in the main grazing land. The plants which grow hereon form the largest supply of

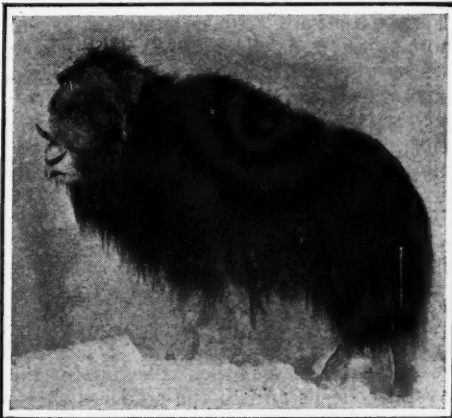
animal fodder on "permanent" grazing land in the world. At present the only domestic animal capable of adapting itself to its conditions is the Old World reindeer, of which there are 250,000 at present in Alaska, the descendants of those imported by the United States Government between 1892 and 1902.

However, the number of reindeer the Arctic regions can support is limited by the number of lichens, which the reindeer must have in addition to grasses in order to thrive in winter. There is ten times as much grass as lichens. Therefore the only way in which the arctic regions can be fully utilized as pasture lands is by the introduction of some animal which can thrive in the climate and live on the surplus grasses.

Such an animal, says Mr. Stefansson is the misnamed musk ox, which is not an ox, and has no musk. Call it by its Latin name, *ovibos*, which means sheep-cow—"sheep four times as large as any you ever saw, or else cattle with a coat of wool."

The *ovibos* can turn billions of tons of edible fodder into hides, wool, and meat which is absolutely indistinguishable from beef. The wool of the *ovibos* is softer than cashmere, as warm as merino, with good wearing qualities, and it will not shrink.

Mr. Stefansson concludes with some quick figuring. He estimates that in 2025 A.D., there will be 300,000,000,000 pounds of meat available for consumption, 50,000,000,000 of which will be *ovibos* meat. At



American Museum of Natural History

THE MUSK OX (SO-CALLED)  
(*Ovibos moschatus*)

that, however, with an estimated population of 3,000,000,000 our descendants will have only five ounces of meat per person a day, and only two or three ounces per person a hundred years later.

Then will the meat-eaters bless the vegetarians, of whom there should be by that time a goodly number, considering the efficacy of their present propaganda. . . . Whatever they get will come chiefly from the lands of the South that are too dry for wheat, and the lands of the North that are too cold for wheat.

In addition to "Polar Pastures," which

is perhaps the *pièce de résistance* of the January *Forum*, Dean Inge, the great English man of letters, discusses the future of Christianity, Gilbert K. Chesterton writes most interestingly, and not too personally, on why he is a Catholic, Don Seitz and A. Hamilton Gibbs hotly debate whether Canada wishes to join the United States, and Ernest Gruening summarizes the accomplishments of President Calles in Mexico. There are also two unusual articles on education, and one on the new project of libraries for ships.

## Compulsory Military Training in Colleges

THE opposition to compulsory military training recently voiced by students at the College of the City of New York and the University of Washington has occasioned considerable comment in the press. The discussion has had the effect of stimulating interest in the whole subject of students' military training and directing attention to the system under which this is given in many institutions, in some of which it is required and in others it is optional.

The Reserve Officers' Training Corps, established and maintained in educational institutions by the War Department, is authorized by the National Defense Act. The War Department offers to send to such institutions a corps of instructors to give courses occupying from ninety hours in the first year to one hundred and sixty hours in the fourth. There are even some high schools in the system. In 1924-25 it was reported that military training is given in more than 226 educational institutions; 768 officers and 1,064 men were assigned from the Regular Army to this duty; 125,504 students were enrolled, and the total cost was \$3,818,020. Recruits in the R. O. T. C. receive compensation. In the Junior Division they are given uniforms and overcoats and in the advanced course they receive "communication and subsistence" which amounts to \$93.60 a year. In a bulletin issued by the National Bureau of Education Pres. William B. Bizzell, of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, summarizes the benefits to the several colleges and to the students themselves as follows:

(1) The detail of a large number of officers selected from among the best officers of the War

Department, entirely without expense to the institution, adds to the corps of instructors and tends to increase the prestige of the institution.

(2) The supply of valuable equipment by the Government, which is utilized by the Department of Military Science and Tactics for the training of students taking the courses in military science and tactics, is a valuable asset. This equipment enables the student to observe the latest arts and facilities, particularly with reference to the latest methods of national defense.

(3) The large amount of money expended by the Government in commutation of uniforms and rations is of vast benefit to the individual student, and, in many cases, students are enabled to remain in college and complete their education by virtue of this assistance who otherwise would not be able to continue in school.

(4) The opportunity of attending training camps for a short period during the summer months is of inestimable value to the students, not only in acquiring practical knowledge of the art and science of war, but in gaining many new experiences that will prove of inestimable value in the normal pursuits of life.

The benefits to the nation itself are thus stated by President Bizzell:

(1) A nation's strength is measured by the physical vigor of its manhood and the integrity of its citizenship. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps has for its immediate objective the physical development of an adequate number of men to meet the abnormal demands of preparation for war in the shortest possible time.

(2) The Reserve Officers' Training Corps makes available to the Nation an increasing number of men with specialized training corresponding to the several Army divisions that can be called to active duty on short notice.

(3) The training of a reserve officer personnel in land-grant colleges and other civil institutions, under the existing plan, insures better coordination of effort between the regular Army establishment and the National Guard. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps organization, therefore, supplies a natural connecting link between the several units of the United States Army and the corresponding units of the National Guard in the several States.

The *Nation* (New York) which is strongly opposed to military drill in the colleges, as fostering militarism, defines two objectives towards which it thinks that the opponents of militarism in this country should direct their efforts:

(1) The entire abolition of military training in secondary schools where by the universal agreement of psychologists and educators it does not belong; and (2) the abolition of compulsion in the colleges. The former is in the hands of boards of education; the latter of boards of trustees and regents. It would be a great gain if both these ends could be obtained.

But the real remedy for the militarizing of our most ambitious youth goes deeper. It is not enough that students should not be compelled to take military training; they should not be bribed or cajoled into it. It is high time for Congress to amend the law and stop the appropriations which subvert our institutions of learning from their proper function of education for peace. Tribes and nations since history began have sought safety by sacrificing the bright years of youth, its hopes and dreams, to war or preparation for war. And their sacrifices have been in vain. It is for our colleges to discover a better and nobler way of happiness and safety. To ask them, of all places, to become temples of a militarist cult, dedicated to the god of battles—this is to ask of them a betrayal of their very souls.

## Taking the Profit Out of War

IN THE Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University, a course of lectures is to be delivered which will expound a practical plan for eliminating war profits. This foundation has been established by Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, who was chairman of our War Industries Board. In the January *Atlantic* Mr. Baruch writes on the experience of that Board, and the lessons which he thinks may be derived from it. He tells us that just before the Armistice came the Board was planning a great extension of its regulatory powers. In order to prevent profiteers from making further gains from the continuance of the war, the Government was preparing to fix prices throughout the great industries, to establish the rate of wages to be paid, to control the distribution of profits, to forbid the flotation of special loans and to veto special State and Municipal bonds for projects that could wait.

This, in the main, is the scheme which Mr. Baruch would wish to see enforced in the event of another war. He does not aim at the commandeering or confiscation of capital but rather at a restriction upon the employment and gains of capital. In concluding his *Atlantic* article, Mr. Baruch remarks:

The application of this plan, besides making the nation a coherent unit in time of war, would impress upon every class in society a sense of its own responsibility in such event. If it were known that this universal responsibility would be enforced, no class—social, financial, or industrial—could fail to understand that, in case of war, it would have to bear its fair share of the burdens involved, and would have to make sacrifices of profit, convenience, and personal liberty correlatively with those made by the soldiers in the field. To this extent the plan would act as a positive deterrent to any hasty

recourse to force in an international controversy.

One thing that has definitely come from the war is the necessity of arranging affairs so that a portion of the population shall not be sent to the front to bear all the physical hardships and their consequences while others are left behind to profit by their absence. If applied at the outbreak, the War Industries Board (as it was functioning at the close of the World War) would prevent this, and lessen, if not remove, the social and economic evils that come as the aftermath of war.



MR. BERNARD M. BARUCH

(Mr. Baruch was Chairman of the War Industries Board in the Great War and has now established a lectureship in the Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University)

## Succor for the British Farmer

FOR the past few months the leading English journals have been devoting much space to discussions of the troubles which face the British farmer. A Government investigation committee of leading agriculturalists is striving to find a method of marketing agricultural produce which will assure a livelihood for the farmer and at the same time reduce the cost of living.

In the September *Nineteenth Century* an article appeared reviewing the respective accomplishments of the agricultural co-operative societies and the joint-stock companies in the British Empire. The author pointed out the virtual failure of coöperation, and the growing success of joint-stock companies. In the December issue comes an article in reply to the earlier one, supporting the work of the coöperatives and pointing out the fact that joint-stock companies, by virtue of their speculative nature, would inevitably attract stockholders who were not agriculturalists and who, in order to receive dividends, would encourage the same policy of lowest prices for the producer which is fostered by the middleman to-day.

In the September article, the author, Mr. Easterbrook, declares that while joint-stock ventures are popular in Canada, co-operation does not flourish: In reply, Mr. Hart-Synnot quotes from a speech made by the Hon. Charles Dunning, Prime Minister of Saskatchewan:

Half the farmers in Saskatchewan, more than half the farmers of Alberta, and nearly half the farmers of Manitoba have banded together in what is called the Coöperative Wheat Producers, Limited, for the purposes of marketing their wheat. They bind themselves each one to turn over to the pool every bushel of wheat they produce for sale for the next five years. . . .

In England, the Agricultural Organization Society was established in 1901 by private enterprise, later partly supported by State funds. Its purpose is the investigation of marketing and coöperative methods, and the promotion of better business methods among the farmers, in the purchase of farm commodities. The Agricultural Wholesale Society was established in 1918 to serve the specific needs of the local coöperative societies.

The Agricultural Organization Society was modeled on the Irish Agricultural

Organization Society, which has flourished since 1894. A similar society was established in Scotland in 1905 and in Wales in 1922.

In all four countries, although the coöperative turnover is still only a small fraction of the total agricultural turnover, substantial progress has been made.

As a result of twenty-four years' work the English agricultural coöperative movement can thus point to about 100,000 agriculturists organized in 374 societies, with an annual trade of 8,000,000*l.* in purchases and of 5,000,000*l.* in sales of produce, and to another 100,000 small-holders and allotment-holders organized in 800 societies, which are rapidly federating in groups.

Very great indirect advantages from the co-operative movement have also been derived by farmers, both inside and outside the movement. In many instances the starting of coöperative purchase by farmers has caused the lowering of traders' prices; and the fact that an agricultural co-operative society exists in a district is a constant factor in stabilizing prices. These facts explain the strong and natural hostility which traders have so frequently shown toward new coöperative societies.

The *New Statesman* (London) for December 26th carries on the discussion of the critical situation facing British agriculturists in an article entitled "Intelligence and the Ministry of Agriculture." "There is far closer association between the two than meets the eye," says its first sentence. A really constructive agricultural policy the ministry does not have, unfortunately, but advice, information and means of assisting the farmer in his many problems, it offers. The Intelligence Department, conducts research, advises, and educates. Each branch of this department is doing increasingly valuable work yearly. Specific examples of progress in the investigation of plant-breeding, soils, horticulture, animal pathology are cited. On the advisory side, the agricultural organizer of a district imparts the most practical technical direction to the farmer, not only in matters of husbandry, but in bookkeeping, and in estimating costs and profits.

On the educational side, much work is done by agricultural colleges, Farm Institutes, and County Council organizations.

So the work goes on, but before we can hope to enjoy the full fruits of a great and widespread endeavor to which full justice is seldom done, there must be a national agricultural policy to accompany it. For this it is safe to say that we cannot look to present government.



## The Jewish Attitude Toward Jesus of Nazareth

IN NEW YORK CITY, on the Sunday before Christmas, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise preached a sermon on Jesus of Nazareth which occasioned much comment in both Jewish and Christian circles. Rabbi Wise stated definitely that Jesus really did exist, that he was a great teacher, and that Jews should accept him as one of their own. "A Jew's View of Jesus," as Dr. Wise entitled his discourse, was partly based on a new book written by Dr. Joseph Klausner, of the Hebrew University in Palestine.

Several leaders among the orthodox Jews in New York and elsewhere attacked Rabbi Wise's utterance as unsound and unrepresentative of Jewish thought. The organs of Christian opinion, on the other hand, expressed surprise that statements of so moderate a character should be disapproved even by the conservative or "Fundamentalist" wing of the Jewish community.

The *Christian Century* (Chicago), in its issue of January 7th, was sympathetic in its attitude toward the orthodox protests against Rabbi Wise's sentiments. It said:

The fact is that liberal Jews are showing appreciation of the teaching of Jesus much more readily than might have been expected, when it is considered that they are compelled to penetrate to the meaning of his words through the thick maze of prejudices by which so many Christians have obscured that meaning.

We Christians believe that Jesus added something new and creative to the religion of the prophets. He made love more triumphant than they did, and the tentative notes of universality in them became in him a dominating passion. Yet it hardly behooves His disciples to insist on this superiority as long as they connive at and are enmeshed in a racialism as grievous as any of which the Jews have ever been guilty; and we can not divorce ourselves from this racialism if we maintain our present pride. If we believe in love as a principle we must also believe in it as a method and realize that we can impart whatever blessings we may possess in our religion only if we approach other religions in an attitude of humility which recognizes at once our own divergence from our professed ideals and the approximation of the ideal among the others.

The *Christian Advocate* (New York) did not regard Rabbi Wise's statement about Jesus as an unusual opinion for an

American rabbi to express. That a Jew who mentions Christ with favor should be pilloried as a traitor to his faith seems to the *Advocate* "another convincing piece of evidence establishing the existence of an ingrained streak of bigotry which runs through Jew, Catholic and Protestant and which—wherever it crops out—is always hideously ugly and fundamentally unchristian."

The *Churchman* (New York) is reminded that other rabbis have made similar statements in the past, and notes that leading Jewish scholars in recent years have admitted the significance of the teachings and life of Jesus for Jews themselves. "Even from the Jewish point of view they have seen that the break between Jesus and the orthodoxy of his race was the failure of the latter and not the failure of Jesus."

To the *Independent* (Boston) it seems almost inconceivable that Jews of pure race and tradition should not—merely from the standpoint of racial pride—rejoice in Jesus of Nazareth, a Jew of the Jews who has influenced the life of the world more profoundly than any other Jew in history. Jews may oppose "the mushroom growth of Christian theology," they may insist on and deplore "the cruel historical application" toward their race and creed. But why, asks the *Independent*, should they deny the purity and the beauty and the truth of Jesus' teaching and character? Jews might rejoice in His character and influence without admitting the premise of His divinity.

We honor Rabbi Wise and his followers. We understand, if we do not indorse, his opponents. There is little or no compromise between the two schools. Sooner or later the smaller faith and understanding will have to yield to the larger, the orthodox Jewish prejudice bow to the reason and honesty of modern Jewish thought.

Speaking of Jesus as an historical character, the *American Hebrew* (New York) says:

As such, even orthodox Jews may study the ethical teachings of Jesus with the same equanimity that the ethical ideals of other Jewish teachers of His day are discussed and annotated—as Klausner has done.



RABBI STEPHEN WISE

## Three Modern Wise Men

FOR more than thirty-five years, ever since its founding, the REVIEW OF REVIEWS has called attention in this department to the leading articles appearing contemporaneously in the periodical press of all the six continents. Within recent times it has become necessary to avoid being narrow in defining the term "article." Leaders of thought and opinion express themselves with increasing frequency from the public platform, now that the agency of radio has so vastly multiplied the number of their listeners; while the pamphlet and the newspaper afford opportunity for others.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler makes his annual report as president of Columbia University a vehicle for expressing well-considered though sometimes startling opinions in the field of education. Urging the provision of increased religious instruction at Columbia, "for those who seek it," he charges that "both the family and the church have abdicated as systematic and serious teachers of religion." In the modern system of tax-supported schools, furthermore, it is not now practicable to include religious instruction on the same plane with literature, science, art, and morals. This notion that because men do not agree in matters of religion, therefore it must be taboo in education, is grotesque in Dr. Butler's opinion. "That 'illiterate ministry' which it was the purpose of the pious founders of Harvard College to defend, is now, after 300 years, in ample evidence on every side."

The distinguished president of Columbia recently gained the front page in newspapers, also, with a letter he wrote to a critic of previous pronouncements on the subject of prohibition. "The attempt to establish nation-wide prohibition by constitutional amendment, he wrote, "has proved to be the most colossal failure in the history of government." To cite one of his arguments only: Prohibition, instead of suppressing liquor traffic, "has developed that traffic to an unheard-of extent, and has brought to those who engage in it unsupervised and untaxed profits so colossal that they represent the revenues of a kingdom." It has brought in its train a corruption and an immorality, public and private, that can never be measured.

From out of the Borough of Brooklyn,

once the City of Churches made famous by Beecher and by a notable array of preachers who followed him, but now for a quarter-century part of Greater New York, the Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman is emerging as the country's foremost religious leader. Dr. Cadman is pastor of the Central Congregational Church, and president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; but far more important, in the opinion of the layman in the street, is his weekly appearance, Sunday afternoons, on the platform of the Bedford Branch of the Y.M.C.A. A visible gathering of a thousand men is supplemented by a radio audience estimated at two million persons, attracted less by the formal address than by Dr. Cadman's scintillating answers to questions.

So extraordinarily popular have these questions-and-answers become that the New York *Tribune* has persuaded the brilliant preacher to conduct a daily column of counsel, a feature which is widely syndicated among newspapers in other cities. The questions relate to religion at times, but more frequently to other topics of the day—literature, the drama, prohibition, dancing, crime, and so on. "Give me a rule for success," asks one. "Do you believe hopeless cripples should be legally legalized?" "How can I stop my wife, who wants to bob her hair?" "Are political parties of any use?"

The man who asks how much money he should have before embarking on the sea of matrimony, is assured that "if you have the right woman she will be your fortune; but be sure that you have carfare home after the knot is tied."

When asked whether he approves of dancing in buildings connected with a church, Dr. Cadman replied: "I see no objection to dancing, under proper auspices, in church buildings which are entirely separate from the sanctuary dedicated for public worship." Then he added that had the church exercised a larger and more sympathetic supervision over amusements she might have prevented some of their marked evils.

A fellow-churchman in New York, the Protestant-Episcopal Bishop Manning, has found far wider publicity given to some recent remarks on sports than any purely theological expression might have gained.

Addressing the National Collegiate Athletic Association, he affirmed that "sport and recreation has just as important a place in our lives as our prayers. . . . We want both, but we want them in their rightful proportions." The Bishop sees nothing wrong in playing golf and tennis on Sunday,

if it does not take the place of or interfere with religious duties; but commercialized sport on the Sabbath is wrong. Football produces fairness, self-control, teamwork, self-sacrifice, and a sense of honor. "Polo, in its place, is as pleasing to God as a beautiful service in a beautiful cathedral."

## Is Journalism Decadent?

THE *Dalhousie Review* (Halifax), perhaps Canada's leading literary review, has an article by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia lawyer and editor of the *Municipal Review*, on the decadence of modern journalism, in which evidence on both sides of the question is ably presented.

Oswald Garrison Villard, one-time owner of the *New York Evening Post*, and present owner and editor of the *Nation*, believes that journalism to-day fails to tell the truth and report news, is degraded by commercial motives, and guided by partisanship. In a recent address given in Chicago, Mr. Villard gave it as his belief, Mr. Woodruff reports, that the press in 1860 was far superior to that of the present day. Innumerable reasons, mostly commercial, are at the bottom of this. First among them Mr. Villard puts the entrance of Mr. Hearst into the field of big newspaper business. Also:

The five-years' orgy of lying government propaganda, forced on the newspapers by the character of the war, has greatly aggravated the tendencies toward intolerance, hatred, unchecked hysteria and ignorance of foreign affairs. Following the lines of organization effected by war propaganda, the newspapers have very generally closed their columns to "the other side," and have not distinguished between liberals, radicals, and extremists. They have refused to print the truth about the new problems of the day. As a result it is widely admitted that the public has lost faith in the press.

In reading four newspaper reviews of a book recently, says Mr. Woodruff, it was found that two papers condemned and two praised, as the cause the book supported was condemned or supported by them. Not one review attempted to evaluate the book itself. This may easily be indicative, it is Mr. Woodruff's opinion, of partisanship throughout the policy of the newspaper.

On the other side of the fence, Mr. Woodruff ranges the opinions of Mr. Kent

Cooper, general manager of the Associated Press. Mr. Cooper stated in a recent edition of *Collier's* that what the public wanted was and always had been the truth, in the form of straight, unprejudiced news reports. Mr. Cooper declares, contrary to Mr. Villard, that when Melville Stone took over the Associated Press in 1893 the newspapers were far more biased than they are to-day. Mr. Stone was the first to introduce the standards of impartiality and accuracy which, affirms Mr. Cooper, prevail to-day.

One unavoidable menace to accuracy is, of course, haste. Crime, so long as it is reported with the proper spirit of awakening society to danger, and not for the sensation, is not overplayed by the press.

"I come back," Mr. Cooper declared, "to the question of truth in news, because it seems to me fundamental. Accurate journalism will never be vicious journalism."

Mr. Woodruff cites several stories showing that total misrepresentation of facts often occurs in the present-day press. We need not repeat them here; we all have known our share of them. Editorial or propagandist misrepresentation is of course a different matter, less serious because the editorial columns are less read.

In Professor Crawford's book "The Ethics of Journalism" the degradation of the press is summed up as the result, not of corruption, but of ignorance, inertia, and fear—this last not only a commercial but a spiritual fear, which manifests itself as a "conscious unwillingness to give the people the facts."

The *Sacramento Bee* published some "shop rules" many years ago which are still adhered to, and are worthy to be republished here:

The *Bee* demands from all its writers accuracy before anything else. Better lose an item than make a splurge one day and correct it next.

Equally with that it demands absolute fairness

in the treatment of news. Reports must not be colored to please a friend or wrong an enemy.

Don't editorialize in the news columns. An accurate report is its own best editorial.

Don't exaggerate. Every exaggeration hurts

immeasurably the cause that it pretends to help.

If a mistake is made it must be corrected. . . .

Be extremely careful of the name and reputation of women. Even when dealing with an unfortunate, remember that . . . she is entitled at least to pity.

## Is Love Compatible With Marriage?

ANYTHING that pertains to the permanence and success of the home and the family is of genuine interest to the American public, especially in this period of social and economic transition that is so disturbing to set formulas and inherited traditions. Many homes have been disrupted by divorce, which has increased 75 per cent. in ten years, according to Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle. She says in the December *Harper's* that 80 per cent. of divorces in the last decade were sought by women. Dr. Hinkle claims that

It is the dissatisfaction with, and unwillingness to accept, the rôle of parasitic women, coupled with the complaisance of the American man, and the lack of hard and fast tradition, that has resulted in the nearly free opportunity (unequaled elsewhere in the world) for women to engage in all forms of labor—professional, educational, and industrial—that are open to men. It is the refusal of the women to become a parasitic class, in spite of wealth and every facility to do so, that is the best insurance against the ultimate disintegration of marriage and the decay of American civilization. . . .

The relation between the sexes is perhaps in a more healthy and normal state than at any time of which we have historical knowledge. Sexual hypocrisy and pretense is largely a thing of the past. . . . The struggle in the soul of man between love and power is at the same time the condition which operates to destroy the whole fabric of human relations. . . . A new ideal and a new reality attained by individuals in marriage is the first step towards the attainment of new world relations. To carry this ideal through and to create thereby a new life of relationships is the great social task of women.

Joseph Hergesheimer contributes to the *Pictorial Review* for January an article on the difference between love and marriage. His view is, that the institution of marriage, which is supposed to limit and civilize love, which

takes no account of convenience or propriety or, even, of morals . . . accomplishes that only when it is ribbed with the utmost determination and faultless self-control. . . . If a man hopes now to completely dominate and satisfy the affections of his wife, he must do more than supply her with adequate sums of money. . . . A harrowing age for husbands has arrived.

He believes that civilization, which meddles with an intolerable stupidity in love, with which it has nothing to do, regards love as a commodity which is bargained for wealth or position. "It is miraculous that, under such condition, love lasts, or even exists at all."

Corra Harris answers Mr. Hergesheimer in the *Pictorial Review* on a facing page. She says:

I do agree with Mr. Hergesheimer, however, when he says: "Nature will not allow women to triumph at the price of a masculine defeat," because nature has already interfered with men's triumph at the expense of feminine defeat. They will probably achieve that equity of mutual respect which insures safety and peace, even "tranquillity—tranquillity which marriage makes of love. . . ."

A man may grow old, peevish, stupid, and ugly . . . but if he has been faithful to his wife, loved and cherished her according to his vows, even if he hyphenates with growls, she will not fail him; she will make some kind of old, knock-kneed Moses out of him. . . . It is the evolution of love through all the phases of romance, passion, service, sacrifice, and adjustment, into that oneness of two people which has the strength of two thousand against every adversity. . . . Sex is the least of its problems.

From the practical side, Dorothy Dix writes in the *Evening Post* (New York) in her column of advice on these topics. On January 7 she says:

the thing that makes or mars a man's marriage is his wife's disposition. That is the thing he has to live with, day in and day out, for the next thirty or forty years. That is the thing that turns his home into a haven of peace and rest, a heaven on earth, or else makes it a storm center, a hell.

Beauty fades. Nobody wants brilliance in the home circle but a woman with a sweet, amiable disposition, a woman who laughs instead of scolds. . . . Nobody minds a pretty young girl being silly . . . but a silly, brainless, homely, old woman is horrible . . . the less sense a woman has, the more unchangeable she is. If a woman has intelligence, you can reform many of her bad qualities, because you can make her see wherein she is wrong, but if she hasn't good, hard horse sense, you can do nothing with her. A fool is hopeless.

To sum it all up, then, Mr. Hergesheimer thinks that tenderness finally replaces love in the marriage of a man. Dr. Hinkle



believes that marriage is the beginning of a great opportunity to develop "emotional maturity in which the sense of justice, of consideration, of understanding, and of forbearance toward others shall be born.

Dorothy Dix thinks that a girl "who isn't sensible and has a fiery temper is a very bad matrimonial bet"; and Corra Harris that "marriage is not nearly so tragic as not being married at all."

## The Democracy Wandering in the Wilderness

AT THE Jackson Day banquet of the Iroquois Club in Chicago on January 8, Gov. Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland made the principal speech. His address was largely devoted to the question of Prohibition, and he proposed a return to the old Democratic doctrine of State rights as a solution for the evils that have accompanied the enforcement and the non-enforcement of the Volstead Act. Recognized as an exponent of decentralization in government, Governor Ritchie won the attention of Democrats throughout the country who are looking for a national leader.

Governor Ritchie maintained that what is now demanded by the people of the States is not the right to nullify an act of Congress but that Congress should cease to nullify the freedom of the States to settle their own affairs, and that Congress and the Courts stop nullifying the liberties of the people guaranteed by the Constitution.

"The Democratic party has always stood for the rights of the States, because it believes that through local self-government we can best attain efficient government and best preserve individual liberties" [said the Governor.] It has always feared the dangers of unnecessary and excessive centralization, and to-day those dangers are apparent to all men.

They must be particularly apparent when a Republican President discovers that what is needed is a return to Democratic doctrine, and with all the fervor and zeal of a new convert declares for the rights of the States. The trouble is that the doctrine does not square with either the theory or the practices of his party. It appeals to a Republican President as an aid to a strong centralized government. It appeals to Democrats as a means of free government.

However, let us give the President credit for seeing the dangers of too much centralization and of recognizing the cure. . . .

The State Governments demand the right to assume responsibility for their local affairs. They must preserve the rights they and their people still have left from encroachment by the Federal Government. They must get back, if they can, those rights which have been taken away. They must demand the right, contemplated by the Constitution, to exist as sovereign units and not as mere geographical divisions.

Governor Ritchie declared that the Prohibition Law was not a law in defense of liberty but in restriction of it. So long as it exists he held that it should be upheld and respected, but he likened the attitude of many good citizens toward the Prohibition Amendment to the feeling of good citizens in the South toward the Fifteenth Amendment.

My own view is that until the sentiment of the country enables a change in the Eighteenth Amendment the subject should be turned back by Congress to the States and each State, within constitutional limitations, given the right and the responsibility of settling it in accordance with the will of its own people.

If, for example, the people of any State are convinced that the ends of temperance can best be accomplished and that respect for law and the effective enforcement of law can best be secured through light wines and beer rather than under the present unfortunate conditions, then the people of such State should



GOVERNOR RITCHIE  
OF MARYLAND

be permitted to solve their problem in that way.

Another representative Southern Democrat, Mr. George F. Milton, of Tennessee, holds views on the Prohibition question which seem to be diametrically opposed to those of Governor Ritchie. In an article on "Democracy—Whither Bound?" in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* Mr. Milton says that the next national Democratic platform ought to declare for an unflinching enforcement of Prohibition. Other tenets which he says should have their place in the party platform are:

A free America, playing her proper part in world

peace, and world development; America must abandon her ignominious isolation. The world needs us, and we need the world for the preservation and advance of both.

reasonable tariff, for the benefit of the many, and not the few.

The democratization of justice; there must be the same law and the same justice for the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, the few and the many.

The democratization of credit; the financial life blood of the nation must pulse for all sections and all classes, and not be subject and subservient to a few financial despots.

The relief of agriculture, our nation's basic industry; the farmer must be put on a plane of equality with industry and commerce. He must be able to buy without being gouged, and to sell without being swindled.

Transportation, water-power, and other great necessities of the common people must be guided, directed, and controlled in the public interest.

The rights of free speech, freedom of opinion, freedom of religious worship, must be preserved and maintained. There must be no religious test for holding office—no political test for thought.

Some great writer, some modern Lincoln, Jefferson, or Wilson needs take such themes and put them into burning words to lead the liberal party of America forward on its task of service to the average man.

Writing in the *American Mercury* (New York) for February, Mr. Arthur Krock reminds us that this is the centennial year of Jefferson's death, but asserts that the Republicans instead of the Democrats should be commemorating the death of the great Virginian. The Democrats, he says, have abandoned most of the motives and principles in the name of which Jefferson called the Democratic party into being. "In its pursuit of Prohibition votes in the South and Liberal votes in the North and East and agrarian votes in the West the Democratic party has burst like the chameleon which, placed on a square of Scottish plaid, took its mission in life too literally."

## The High Cost of Babies

WHILE the January *Century* (New York), seemed too full of interesting articles to leave room for stories and verse, the February issue majors in the two latter. Several noteworthy articles are included, however, among them E. N. Bennett's discussion of "The New Palestine" and Emanie Sachs' story of Mayor Mitchel of New York, entitled "Being Human."

Perhaps the most outstanding is a short and informal article entitled "Balancing the Baby Budget" by Grace Nies Fletcher. It deals with the growingly critical problem of how, in the modern urban world, young and relatively impecunious married people of education are to afford the expensive business of bringing babies, particularly the first baby, into the world.

It has been estimated, says Miss Fletcher, that it costs the young husband at least 10 per cent. of his yearly salary to provide the minimum of comfort and security for his wife for whom the best is none too good. Most babies cost about as much, says the article, as running a flivver; often the cost leaps up into the limousine class, and the young people, who have not been able to save against such a contingency, if at all, are plunged into debts which take years to pay off. The young wives who have come from sheltered homes, and have been used to privacy above all else, often cannot bear

the thought of care in free clinics and in semi-private wards, where unknown doctors are arbitrarily assigned, where visitors are not allowed except in the regular hour, and many other drawbacks exist.

Doctors everywhere are all but insisting on hospital care, where proper facilities are to hand, and proper provision can be made for emergencies. The increasingly diminished death-rate among young mothers is ample testimony to the excellence of this tenet, but as yet there is no solution for the problems presented by the fact that hospital care over a period of two weeks, and the proper medical attention, makes even an inexpensive baby cost anywhere from five to six hundred dollars, although it can be done with equal safety, but less bodily and mental comfort, for one-fifth as much.

The solution Miss Fletcher suggests is that which has often been pointed out before. The obstetrician, considering the amount of charity and clinical work he does and the peculiarly difficult and demanding nature of all his work, is certainly not overpaid for his services. Unless the state subsidizes the doctor, or the rich pay to support the doctors' poorer patients, the high cost of babies will continue to cut down the number in the family of the young, low-salaried man of education.

## How Far Is the Roman Catholic Church Cosmopolitan?

THE Roman Catholic Church is said by a writer in the *Dublin Review* for the last quarter of 1925 to be "sopranational," and, while there can be no question that L. J. S. Wood believes that the Catholic Church is the one Christ founded, there is a little doubt as to whether its sopra-nationalism means above nations or before them. He pleads that, although there are many points of Roman inferiority, particularly in "things of management and organization," there is room

for the brain trained to the exigencies of the day, for the knowledge of the language spoken in all far-off lands, even for the roll-top desk and the card index. The Vatican takes some time to digest things, its adaptation is no matter of a moment, but if you give it time it adapts itself well in the end. Note how far more suitably than in many other places the old material Vatican has adapted itself to receive such things as central heating and electric light. As an institution it is ancient, it is vast, and, it must be confessed, it is slow—which has sometimes been seen to be an advantage even if momentarily annoying. It absorbs things. There are signs that, as an institution, it has been absorbing and would willingly go on absorbing in even greater measure the idea of internationalization on which these notes are based, but, from its very nature, the whole fabric of Rome, of however many and varied elements it is composed, will be and always must be "Roman."

But the administration of the Roman Church, Mr. Wood admits, is criticized as too prevalently Italian. In the Roman Curia, nine of the Cardinal prefects, or Secretaries, in the twelve Congregations are Italian, while Cardinal Merry del Val, a Spaniard, is Secretary of State and Cardinal Van Rossum is head of Propaganda. The entire Secretariat of State, however, is Italian, as are all the Nuncios, or diplomatic representatives.

Representation of non-Italians is 57½ per cent. of the total, that of English-speaking countries 10½ per cent. of non-Italians, and less than 6 per cent. of the total. The Catholic Directory figures for 1924 give a Catholic population in English-speaking countries of 42,856,094, that is nearly 13¼ per cent. of the total Catholic population of the world of 324,328,468.

To summarize in general outline, it may be said that in offices of a consultative or deliberative nature there is a good admixture of non-Italians with Italians; those of purely administrative character are almost entirely filled by Italians. In the long lists of sub-officials, secretaries, clerks, of

various grades and various nomenclatures, it is difficult to spot any name that is not Italian. And there is, then, on the face of it, justification for the thought which sometimes occurs: The Church is universal, international, but is not its administration—and as it is merely administration that is being considered the sopra-national character of the Church need not be dwelt on—is not its administration too prevalently Italian? Is not, in fact, a universal Church being run by Italians, and would it not be a good thing for the Church that its administration should be international, should at least be leavened by a larger element from outside?

The word Roman, in connection with the Church, according to Mr. Wood, has a cosmopolitan rather than a national significance, and "Roman" must be substituted for "Italian" if we are to think clearly," but he himself uses the word in such a way as to make one doubt that all these prelates come from Rome itself.

Presuming, then, with particular regard to the proportion of Italian and non-Italian Cardinals in the Sacred College as part of the general problem of "internationalization," (1) that the rough average suggested above of the number and proportion for different countries of Cardinals in residential sees is not likely to be modified to any notable extent in the immediate future, and (2) that a larger proportion of non-Italian Cardinals in Curia would be to the advantage of Holy Church, one of two things must happen. Either some alteration must be introduced by the Holy Father into Canon 231, which establishes the plenum of seventy, six Cardinal Bishops, fifty Priests, and fourteen Deacons, in the Sacred College, or in the number of Cardinals in Curia, averaging thirty-three, many Italians must be replaced by non-Italians. . . .

Let us set down, then, a problem: (1) The administration of the Church is prevalently Roman; while (2) it must always be "Roman" in the sense and spirit outlined above, (3) admixture of a larger non-Roman element would be advantageous. And let us consider: (1) Sudden addition of a considerable non-Roman element. This, as things stand, is hardly possible; some time for acclimatization, for acquiring, not only the "Roman" spirit, but the knowledge necessary to work here, is required, and those abroad who have these qualifications are probably at present too valuable to be spared. (2) The adoption of the *carriera* by young non-Roman ecclesiastics. This may well be possible, but for the moment to a very limited extent . . . at least as far as English ecclesiastics are concerned. . . . There is no obstacle placed to the entry of the non-Roman into work here. One of the items in Pius X's Reform of the Roman Curia was the specific opening of all positions in it to the world.

Time, then, seems to be necessary. In time the above difficulties will disappear.

Last year, it will be noted, the Pope created two new Cardinals from the United States, telling them that their country has deserved well of the world, that it has used well the great power and prestige it now enjoys. He sees the driving force of its good work in the deep and true religious

feeling there. And it was in recognition of that work, and to incite its continuance for the attainment of the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ that he honored, not only the prelates themselves but their country and their cities, by promoting them to the Senate of the Church.

## The Biblical Account of Man's Origin

THE trial at Dayton last summer set up far-reaching reverberations in the intellectual world. Their European echoes have been heard in the United States through the daily press and scientific and religious periodicals. Now comes from South America a scholarly treatment of the subject of evolution and Genesis, contributed by a Jesuit Father, José M. Blanco, to the September number of *Estudios* (Buenos Aires).

His comparative study of the Biblical account of man's origin is undertaken in a scientific and philosophic spirit. For this reason the idea of revelation is entirely set aside in order that the subject may be judged upon its own merits in a purely rational way. Father Blanco contends that no clear and determined chronology exists which would limit the extension within the Biblical narrative of the time of the Adamic apparition. He says:

... Anthropology and pre-history find themselves in identical situations. The appearance of man does not extend farther back than the Quaternary period, and the more ancient discoveries are so haphazard and involved in shadows and are so poor in relation to the magnitude of the problem which it is attempted to solve, that they permit no chronology to be established which can be placed outside the range of criticism. We have, then, the right to infer that from a chronological point of view there exists no opposition between the Biblical account and the discoveries of anthropology and pre-history.

Father Blanco attempts to present in a long and highly technical argument evidence which would seem to indicate that certain evolutionary theories concerning the transmission of acquired characteristics and variations of types are without any substantial foundation. In opposition to the materialistic concept of man as the chance result of the interplay of physical forces, he pictures primitive man as an essentially spiritual being.

Man in his integral complexity of a perfectly organized body, endowed with a thought principle,

capable of knowing the non-existent and creating it, is presented to us on the threshold of pre-history, superior to the rest of the beings who surrounded him, initiating the era of his absolute dominion over nature. This and nothing else is what the data of science entitle us to assume.

("Art is the signature of Man", says Chesterton—the visible working of that creative impulse which differentiates him from the beast. This impulse, manifested so strikingly in the well-known cave paintings, has existed among the most primitive types).

He infers that matter cannot of itself be eternal, since each one of its evolutionary phases, beginning with the primal nebulae, must have had a limit of time. Since then, matter is not eternal, it is necessary to admit an eternal principle which existed before matter—a primal moving cause distinct from matter itself, supplying the impulse necessary to free matter from its intrinsic inertia, and bestowing those internal potentialities whose result was the harmony of the worlds with their constant and immutable laws.

And in this case we shall find ourselves also obliged to admit the existence of an immutable being infinitely fecund in activity. In the principle of evolution or in the principle of matter it is necessary that we recognize God.

Intelligence requires it: life requires it: evolution itself requires it. It is the Biblical God who in the beginning created the heaven and earth and ordained their infinite variety, who fertilized matter with the first germs of life, who organized matter and irradiated in its face the spirit of intelligence which palpitates freely in the human soul.

Father Blanco concludes then that since science has been thus far unable to give us a clear and understandable account of man's origin, the Bible narrative of a deliberate and purposeful creation must still remain as the one clear and precise explanation of the great problem of the origin of the physical and spiritual worlds. To be over-concerned as to the exact details—as to the how or why, or as to the literal truth of



Genesis—seems to him too ridiculous for discussion. His conclusions are presented in a few sentences:

The fact of evolution is entirely to be demonstrated. Paleontology is incapable of doing it; comparative anatomy is in opposition with paleontology, with genetics and with itself. Biology arrives at definite conclusions about the immutability of the ideoplasm. But in treating of man, reason, philosophy, history, pre-history, paleoanthropology

and even paleontology itself are in accord in showing him as suddenly appearing without ancestors in the fulness of his perfection. The ascendent lines of progress show us precisely that the internal perfection of man has not varied since the time of his appearance when he took the first intentional footsteps. Evolution explains neither this sudden appearance nor this perfection; reason and philosophy require the presence of an infinite power to explain the appearance of this being; therefore the biblical narrative is the most rational affirmation of the great problem of his origin.

## What Do You Know About the Biology of Health?

ONE of a multitudinous company, as far as his subject matter goes, and unfortunately far separated from most of them by the excellence of his treatment of it, Dr. Raymond Pearl of Johns Hopkins University writes on the "Biology of Health" in the December *American Mercury*.

Dr. Pearl begins by stating that his concern in this article is with the biology of health, and not of disease. He says:

A fundamental characteristic which is possessed by the living organism and lacked by the non-living, inorganic machine, is *adaptability* . . . ability to do something to meet any situation which arises in a manner which conduces to the continued survival of the doer.

This adaptability is not confined to food seeking, overcoming material obstacles, finding a mate. It functions also in the internal workings of the human body, to prevent disaster—as when one kidney is removed, the other promptly increases in size to meet adequately the enlarged demand. Dr. Pearl cites in detail several interesting protective processes of the body in tuberculosis, and heart disease.

It works also to withstand the invasions of disease.

Biologically, what we call the state of disease is a state in which the organism fails, for the time being and in greater or less degree, to correct or regulate perfectly an abnormal situation . . . the chief factor in determining whether a person remains in health, or recovers his health when he has lost it, is his innate biological power of adaptive self-regulation to the normal.

A particular illness of a particular person—say Mr. Aloysius Xavier Cohen, may conceivably be caused by (a) something internal, innately peculiar to Mr. Cohen's biological make-up (this category includes only strictly inherited diseases) or (b) some deleterious agent originally wholly external and foreign to Mr. Cohen's organic commonwealth

(an inadvertently casual automobile) or (c) to a combination of (a) and (b).

The vast majority of the causes of disease belong to class (c). A combination of infection and constitutional weakness is at the bottom of practically all disease and the disease can only be overcome by the restoration of the power of adaptive regulation—what physicians call "resistance" or "immunity."

The rest of Dr. Pearl's article is devoted to a discussion of this method for the preservation and recovery of health.

The fact that what we call the curing of disease results primarily and fundamentally from the innate biological powers of the organism, is the basis of both the philosophy and the success of the Christian Science faith. The followers of that cult certainly give the *vis medicatrix naturae* a freer and fairer chance to do its extremely superior best than do any other large body of people in our present civilization. But they make the mistake of pushing their philosophy too far. For the intelligent observation of human experience down through the ages has shown that the regulatory powers of the organism in battling with disturbances of the normal equilibrium are alone and of themselves sometimes inadequate, and can be very greatly aided by appropriate external procedures. The collected and ordered codification of these procedures constitutes the science and art of medicine.

The services of medicine in the restoration of the adaptive, regulatory powers of the system are classified by Dr. Pearl as follows: (1) The reduction of deleterious agents, by preventive medicine and sanitation. (2) Direct aid, such as anti-toxin, and drugs, such as quinine, mercury, arsenic. (3) Indirect aid, such as forced feeding and rest which put the body in a condition to battle with disease, and other therapeutic methods. (4) The removal or repair of worn-out or damaged parts.

These four kinds of things are, broadly speaking,

all that scientific medicine can do. They are all ancillary biologically to the main factor in getting and keeping well, which is their own constitutions, their own powers of adaptive regulation. There is a fifth thing and practically a very important one, that the wise physician does for his patients. He cheers them up. . . .

Dr. Pearl concludes with two morals for his readers, and a final paragraph of practical advice. The first moral is to learn more about the adaptive self-regulation side of biology, at present little thought of, or investigated. The second,

is to beware of the patent-medicine vendors, chiropractors and other quacks who attempt by suggestion to instil imaginary diseases for them to cure miraculously.

The last paragraph is as follows:

The general biology of health and disease offers what I think is a sounder plan for the conduct of life, which can be put this way: Live as a Christian Scientist is supposed to live, without thought or fear of disease. But when you feel ill, consult a physician at once, and follow implicitly his instructions. He knows better than anybody else how to help you.

## Present-Day Poland

ALTHOUGH there were many doubters in 1923, when M. Grabski, the Polish Minister of Finance, declared that he would be able to balance his budget for 1924, there are few critics in Europe to-day who will deny that the rehabilitation of Poland after her tribulations of seven years—1914-1921, for she was still warring with Russian "Reds" in 1920—is one of the miracles of modern history. M. Soulange-Bodin, writing in *La Revue Hebdomadaire* (Paris), on the subject of Poland in 1925, states in his introductory paragraph:

When Poland declared her right to self-determination, she was being ravaged by several invading armies which destroyed everything, whether in the line of march or the line of retreat, her population had been bled white, she had no frontiers, no army, no administration, nothing wherewith to start the operations of agriculture and industry, and her exchequer was empty. . . . Since then she has drawn up a constitution, created an administration, concluded a peace with Soviet Russia, adjusted her frontiers, stabilized her currency, formed an army of defense.

M. Soulange-Bodin, who is the French Minister at Cracow, points out that Poland to-day with her 386,000 square kilometers (241,250 square miles) is far from possessing the extent of that Poland which was subjected to a tripartite division in the eighteenth century. Poland of to-day is, however, purely Polish, and far more so than when her greatness extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. When Poland demanded self-determination (says the diplomat), France advocated a very strong Poland, Italy rather favored Polish claims, the Japanese adopted a neutral, or rather, disinterested attitude, the United States regarded the matter with pure objectivity, having regard solely to the principles at

stake; Britain alone under the hostile guidance of Lloyd George (says M. Soulange-Bodin) displayed antipathy to Poland's claims. In the event, Poland made her national debut among the European nations as sixth in point of population. Reviewing the results of five years' intensive work, the French diplomat says:

Beginning with agriculture, there is to-day, in live stock, almost as large a quantity as in 1914; thus, 7,894,000 head of cattle, 3,200,000 horses, 2,000,000 sheep. Cereal produce not only feeds the home population but allows for the exportation of 10,000,000 quintals (hundred weight) of rye and wheat, 7,000,000 quintals of barley and hay, and at least 25,000,000 quintals of potatoes. The lumber industry of Poland may be realized from the fact that nearly 20,000,000 of acres are under afforestation and the prospects are of the most promising nature. Coal is won in Polish mines (in Upper Silesia particularly) to the amount of nearly 40,000,000 tons yearly. The output of petrol (taking the average year of 1922) moves annually around the million-ton mark, internal consumption being equal to the quantity exported. France alone has invested 650 millions (normally \$130,000,000) in the country's oil-fields. Since the war, Poland has rebuilt 750 bridges having a total length of 32 kilometers (21 miles), 93 large railway stations, 3,000 buildings of various kinds, 47 depots for locomotives, 350 water-reservoirs and countless railroad "shops." Over 5,000 kilometers (3,120 miles) will shortly be added to the Polish railroad system, so as to meet the transportation demands arising out of the growth of her mineral and industrial activities. A Central Bank, modelled on the Bank of France has been organized, and its capital is already subscribed to the extent of 96 per cent. In order to achieve these results, Poland has borrowed but little outside her own country—400,000,000 francs (normally \$80,000,000) in France, an equal sum in Italy.

That the existence of the Danzig "Corridor" constitutes a permanent menace, so far as Germany is concerned, the French diplomat admits. He is of the opinion, however, that the friendly *entente* between

Poles and Czechoslovakia more than discounts any dangers latent in the existing situation. The growth, however, of the

Pan-German spirit is not likely, he adds, to lessen such dangers, as Germany continues to find her feet in the future.

## The Future of Austria

THE future of Austria proper—that is, Upper and Lower Austria—has recently proved a question which has much agitated the newspapers and the chancelleries of Europe. Any hope of the survival of Austria as a national entity is held by many good students of European affairs to be conditional on her forming the closest kind of association with Germany, as a protection against Czechoslovakian ambitions on the one hand, and Magyar, or Polish, or Italian pretensions as other possible contingencies. It was held that the decisions of Locarno would also mean decisions for Austria, and this fact lends appositiveness to an article by M. L. Dumont-Wilden in the *Revue Bleue* (Paris). He says:

The first political *revanche* which Germany seeks is that Austria shall return to her side, and so far, events have favored the policy directed by Berlin despite the fact that the old Hapsburg Empire was in no sense a nation, but simply a congeries of countries, nevertheless the rulers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been successful in applying to that artificial political group a sort of natural economic consortium which worked well in practice. . . . The fact remains, however, that by the new political adjustment of 1919, Czechoslovakia is threatened with becoming a State which is solely industrial and Hungary, despite its agricultural wealth, is accommodating itself with difficulty to present conditions, while Austria seems to grow daily stronger in the conviction that as she is now, she cannot hope to work out her destiny.

The French writer shows that the present position of the little Austrian Republic is peculiarly difficult. In 1922, he points out, as a result of financial readjustments brought about by the League of Nations, a general improvement became at once apparent in the economic situation, and it was thought that Austria by her own effort could extricate herself from her difficulties. A revival of confidence in the Government declared itself and owing to the Ruhr occupation, Austrian industrial affairs experienced an unexpected reaction for their own benefit. The industrial revival proved, indeed, so great that in Vienna alone, in three years, three hundred new factories were built and speculation on the Viennese

stock exchange reached the fever point. Then followed financial depression, restricted credit and a general industrial crisis with much unemployment. Austria herself, says M. Dumont-Wilden, is to blame for her own distress, but that distress is a concrete and active factor in Europe's troubles, and a remedy must be sought.

Austria has been advised to conclude general commercial and trading *entente* with such of her neighbors as are "consumer" states rather than "producer" states. She is advised to look for her industrial chances among the agricultural states like Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, rather than to seek trading outlets with industrial competitors like Czechoslovakia and Italy. The latter country takes alarm, however, at the least idea of an economic Danubian Confederation, to say nothing of the attitude of Germany toward such a conception. There remains the question of preferential tariffs. During the days of the Saint-Germain conferences, England had suggested a bizarre system of preferential exchanges between the territories ceded by Austria to the Succession States; thus, there was to be a preferential system of tariffs between Galicia and Austria, but not between Poland and Austria; between Austria and Trieste, but not between Austria and Italy; between Hungary and Transylvania, but not between Rumania and Hungary. Italy, on her side, wished to create a kind of Customs Union (*Zollverein*) which would have included all the countries between Sicily and Danzig, under the ægis of Mussolini. The French idea was to limit the preferential tariffs to those States which had issued from the Dual Monarchy, and this would mean the reestablishment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire under a purely economic guise. Although this is by many considered to be the soundest solution, both Britain and Germany are wholly opposed to it.

M. Dumont-Wilden concludes by stating that the great bulk of Austrian opinion is against any renewal of the alliance with Germany. As he puts it: "this optimistic and light-hearted people does not like the Prussians," and finally declares that the hostile dispositions of the Successor States (of old Austria-Hungary) militate against any *entente* between them and the Austrian Republic. He may be excused for supporting the French plan as the "most reasonable," but he declares that Rome and London are suspicious of a France supported by an ally like Poland in Central Europe, while Prague, Vienna and Warsaw lack full confidence in French wisdom and strength.

## Criminal Trial Without Jury in Maryland

ANY method of obtaining swift justice, seems worthy of study, these days, and Maryland has a long-standing practice of trial by judge without jury that offers a very fertile field. Quick trials and the rapid disposal of criminal dockets are the chief advantages of a system that has come down since 1693, under which jury or non-jury trials are optional on the part of the defendant. Judge Carroll T. Bond contributes an interesting article on the history of this practice to the *American Bar Association Journal*. Any lawyer will find it instructive and illuminating, especially since Connecticut, in 1921, established a similar practice which has resulted in the trial of 70 per cent. of criminal cases by the court (*i. e.*, the judge) and 30 per cent. by jury in the city of Hartford alone, within a period of four years.

Under the English common law, as crystallized by Blackstone, and as generally (except in the early Spanish colonies) adopted in the United States, trial by jury was one of the cardinal principles of the Bill of Rights embodied in our Federal and State Constitutions. Thus the Federal Fourth Amendment says that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed." In Maryland, says Judge Bond:

Since 1776 the several constitutions of the State have provided, in the Declarations of Rights, that the people are "entitled to the common law of England, and the trial by jury, according to the course of that law" (Declaration of Rights, Art. 5); "that in all criminal prosecutions every man hath a right . . . to a speedy trial by an impartial jury without whose unanimous consent he ought not to be found guilty" (Art. 21); . . . Since 1851 the constitutions have contained the further provision (now Art. 15, Sec. 5), that, "In the trial of all criminal cases, the jury shall be the Judges of Law, as well as of fact." No question has ever been raised in Maryland as to the consistency of allowing trial without a jury when the accused desires it.

Maryland lawyers, therefore, are usually surprised to learn that, in most jurisdictions, the accused may not have a trial without a jury, even if he so desires. Lawyers of many other States, however, will be equally amazed to learn that the juries in Maryland are "judges of questions of law, as well as of questions of fact, uncontrolled by instructions from the court."

Judge Bond reports that in 1924 over ninety per cent. of all criminal cases in the Baltimore Criminal Court were tried before judges alone, while ten or a dozen years ago, they were tried by judges in about seventy per cent. of the cases. The city has a population of 800,000. Ordinarily two criminal courts are sufficient for the dockets, and often only one is enough. For some years past, only one jury panel has been required, and they have spent "much of their time sitting aside as spectators." Sometimes the court is able to try cases the day after indictment.

Of the 1,500 criminal cases docketed during the four months of the January, 1925, term of the Criminal Court of Baltimore City all except 177, mostly those last docketed, were disposed of before the final day of the term. Unquestionably this comparatively rapid disposal of business is due to the prevalence of trials without juries. There is no common length for trials in that form, of course, but they are very much shorter than jury trials. It seems safe to say, for a guess, that the non-jury trial of a given case requires no more than a third of the time which would be required to try the same case with a jury. This estimate is confirmed by lawyers familiar with the criminal court work. . . .

The trials are usually less formal than trials before juries, and, of course, quicker. There is no delay in selection of the tribunal, often opening statements are omitted as unnecessary, the evidence is more direct and concise, and there are fewer objections or other interruptions. The judges as they go along ask questions to clear up matters for themselves. They may, without inconvenience, interrupt a trial and hold it open for days until other witnesses they might like to hear are hunted up. They may hold it under advisement for days, after all the evidence is in, to reflect upon it. Some times the examination of witnesses suggests the existence of additional evidence which may go right to the point of final difficulty in the judge's mind, and where the evidence may be on the side of the accused the judge is especially careful to bring it into the case. . . .

In Maryland, "negro prisoners constitute a large proportion of the defendants in the criminal courts" and the trial by judge is chosen to avoid race friction. The system offers escape from, or at least mitigation of, the evils of "trial by newspaper," and is chosen in preference to a jury trial often in fear of popular prejudice.

Judge Bond remarks that in cases involving capital crimes or felonies, it is usual to provide two or three judges to sit in the case. The law does not require more than one judge to sit in a capital case or in any other; but a judge may request others to assist.



Drawing by Paul Chapman in *Collier's*

AFTER ONE LOOK AT THIS JURY THE CULPRIT CHANGES HIS PLEA TO "GUILTY"

## Ladies of the Jury

NOT long ago righteous male law-enforcers could be heard on every side denouncing the presence of women on the jury. Their argument was, "Women are too soft for jury duty." But this was before any women had been summoned to sit with the "sterner" sex in the jury box. Experience has reversed the opinion of the informed. Mr. Hugh O'Connor, in *Collier's* for December 26th, and Miss Elizabeth M. Sheridan, of the Philadelphia bar, in the *American Bar Association Journal* for December, summarize the available facts about women jurors, and quote the opinions of many judges and lawyers who have had to do with them. Says Mr. O'Connor:

Judges who have had experience with women on the jury all seem to agree: what women have done to the jury system during the past two or three years is the most remarkable thing that has happened to it since a historic date in 1219, when one of the Popes forbade any further use of trial by fire or water in Christian countries. . . .

In more than twenty States women have been summoned cautiously for jury duty—as the equals of men—during the past two or three years, and the court records are full of their actual performance. Instead of being swayed by sympathy, as generally expected, the women on the jury seem to have stiffened with righteousness. . . .

If women need any caution as jurors, it is not the one that was offered to them at first: "Don't let your feelings run away with you." The current records show that the women jurors might now be told: "Have a heart!"

This is the general tenor of Mr. O'Connor's article. He quotes directly from the opinions of several judges. For example:

Judge Thornton Sargent of Kansas says: "I have had considerable experience with juries composed of men and women. The women follow the instructions of the court with strict fidelity. They have a high sense of justice and are very solicitous that right should prevail in their verdict. They respect the law because it is the law and are not moved to return verdicts by sentiment."

Many judges quoted in both articles insist on the superiority of a mixed jury to one composed entirely of men. In a census of sixty-two judges in the States where women are summoned, fifty-eight wrote enthusiastically and only four gave faint praise.

Most women accept the responsibilities of the job very seriously, pay serious attention to the proceedings, and, particularly, make no attempt to avoid jury duty, as men do.

The influence of even a minority of women on a jury is startling. "As they do in the home," says Mr. O'Connor, they insist on their own opinions until the men give way, and the verdict of the women members becomes the unanimous verdict of the jury.

Prisoners are terrified by this uncompromising attitude for law-enforcement on the part of the women jurors. "Apparently women are the jurors most judges have wanted for a long time."

In Pottstown, Pa., a bootlegger (women jurors are notoriously hard on this ilk, says Mr. O'Connor) had declared himself innocent. He took one look at the women on

the jury and asked permission to change his plea to guilty!

Miss Sheridan, after a technical discussion as to whether the suffrage law carries the implication of jury duty with it—an unsettled point in legal circles—adds many concrete cases to demonstrate the excellence of women as jurors, and also quotes a number of opinions from judges, lawyers and court clerks. In the main, however, her article treats the subject from the legal point of view. She discusses the moral issues which were brought up by sensationalist newspapers over the fact that women jurors would have to be confined over

night with men jurors. Efficient regulations, and the appointment of a female tipstaff have settled this point. The chief troubles at present are the confused and varying laws in the different states. Some do not recognize jury duty for women; in some the exemption is made ridiculously easy, in others it is more as it should be.

However, Miss Sheridan makes it quite clear to the most lay mind that the still unsolved problems connected with women jury duty are particularly important because women have been proven such excellent jurors.

## British Objections to Submarines

THE recent submarine disasters here and abroad have naturally enough occasioned much comment in the press. In America this has been largely confined to report of the disasters, full of horror and sympathy, and a few editorial protests against the continued use of the submarine. No such resignation on the part of public opinion is found in England. The British press, since the disappearance of the *M1*, has been filled with eager discussions of the possibility of abolishing an instrument of warfare which is inhumane, and so obviously unsafe beyond all reason, even in times of peace. The newspapers and weeklies have revived the British proposal made at the Washington Conference that the submarine be abolished by international agreement. Mr. P. G. Mackinnon, the chairman of Lloyd's, made a suggestion which has met much support, that a special conference of naval powers be called to consider the problem. Says the *Manchester Guardian* editorially:

By the loss of the submarine *M1* an addition is made to the appalling record of accidents which demonstrate that the submarine is a deadly peril to those who handle it as well as to those against whom it is directed as a weapon of war.

The editor quotes Lord Oxford's speech at Newberry to the effect that if the abolition of the submarine were agreed upon by the nations, it could be enforced. The submarine was never intended, he said, to be what during the war it became—"the habitual instrument for the direct and shameless violation of all the traditions and usages of international law."

In the same issue a naval correspondent points out that the only target of the submarine in future wars would be unarmed merchantmen. Warships, with altered design, careful detecting instruments and the like, are no longer menaced:

The five principal naval powers are known to have, building and projected, 126 submarines. The French program includes no fewer than 59 underwater craft for high sea work. The Japanese program totals 28. The Italian totals 20. It is small wonder that shipping men, to whom the insignificance of the submarine as an attacker of warships is well known, should be concerned about the future, for they know also that there is nothing to prevent these big submarines being used as commerce destroyers in exactly the same way that the German submarines were used during the war. . . .

The submarine is, and remains, a freak; its usefulness, such as it was, it has outlived. There is no real argument against the abolition of the submarine.

The *Manchester Guardian* quotes an editorial from the New York *World* which attacks the British campaign:

The submarine, like the bombing aeroplane, like poison gas, like the machine-gun, like the super-dreadnought, is a weapon of war. There are no humane weapons of war; all weapons of war are meant to kill or maim, and the attempt to decide which weapon kills least unpleasantly is one of those things men do in time of peace when they fool themselves into thinking they are mitigating the horrors of war. It is a beastly thing to sink a passenger ship on the high seas, but it is also a beastly thing to blockade and starve a nation.

The *Spectator* (London) anticipates the argument of the *World* editorial:

It seems to us that we should have no chance of making any impression upon the weaker naval

powers unless we were prepared to give them something in return—to make a considerable further reduction in the strength of our surface ships. . . . The sensible and logical corollary of Locarno is a further general reduction in naval armaments. That, we know, is a very serious proposal, but we cannot see that anything less can be expected to succeed in view of the well-known feelings of the weaker naval powers. . . .

To put it quite plainly Germany revived piracy in its most hideous shape and it seems to us that since every war begins where the last left off, piracy, in other words general murder on the high seas, would be rampant in another war. . . .

We appeal earnestly not only to our own government but to all governments to see what can be done. . . . We should encourage President Coolidge to call another Washington Conference, at which the British proposal for abolition should be revived. Other nations, no doubt, will repeat their opinions (we had almost written, their taunts) that we stand to gain most, both navally and commercially, by abolition; and we must try fairly to meet those views.

The *Weekly Times* (London) adds many interesting facts about the *M1* and the other submarines which have met disaster since the war. The *M1*, carried a twelve-inch gun of the type used in battleships of the predreadnought classes. No other submarine has ever been built to carry a gun larger than five-inch.

One of the most heated editorial protests against the inhumanity of the submarine appeared in *Collier's* (New York). Submarine warfare is classed with the use of poison gas and microbes. The editor protests that the submarine can be abolished by international agreement, and calls on President Coolidge to initiate this agreement and so do away with a grave menace to the honor of civilization.

## A Momentous Reclamation Project in Greece

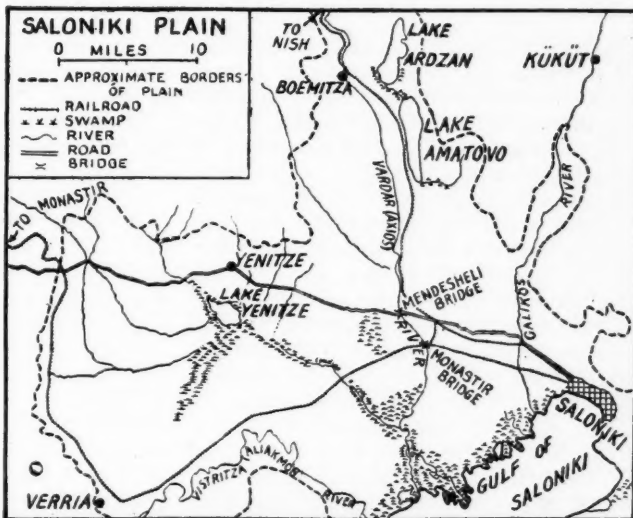
**P**ERHAPS no great engineering project was ever undertaken, in time of peace, under the spur of more urgent necessity than one which has just been launched in Greece, where a contract has been awarded to an American company for the reclamation of about 160,000 acres of land in the Saloniki Plain. The details are set forth by Mr. M. B. Hayden in *Commerce Reports* (Washington, D. C.). One of Greece's perennial problems is the domestic food supply. This problem has suddenly been aggravated to the stage of a veritable crisis

by the influx of a million refugees, repatriated from Turkish soil. A happy solution appears to be offered by the plan of bringing hitherto neglected lands under cultivation. The reclaimed territory will, moreover, provide homes for a large population and thus relieve the housing problem.

The writer reminds us that only about one-fifth of the country's 50,000 square miles of territory is cultivable. Much of the land is barren or too hilly for cereal crops. Greece leads the world in the production of cur-

rants, has olive and orange groves rivaling those of Italy, and raises tobacco on a very large scale. Her grain crops, however, which are grown on the plains of Thessaly and Macedonia, have never met the needs of the population. Her large imports of grain and of coal have resulted in a constantly unfavorable balance of trade.

The Saloniki Plain was the theater of important and protracted operations during the World War, when its climatic conditions, and especially the floods to which it is subject, were mentioned from time to



time in press dispatches. One is reminded of these reports in reading the following account of the reclamation program:

The "Vardar concession," as the Saloniki drainage project is frequently called, involves the drainage and irrigation of the Saloniki Plain, approximately 800 square miles in extent, lying west of the city of Saloniki and formed by alluvial deposits brought down by the rivers Galikos, Vardar (Asios), Loudias, and Vestritza (Aliakmon), which now traverse it from the mountains to the bay. By the flooding of these rivers, chiefly the Vardar, villages are frequently wiped out and crops ruined, and life is made so insecure and unsatisfactory on the plain that only a small part of it is cultivated. Moreover, approximately 300 square miles consist entirely of swamps and great shallow lakes that are wholly uncultivable. It is the reclamation of the whole Saloniki Plain that is contemplated in the present project.

This is to be accomplished first by the drainage of Lakes Amatovo and Ardzan by means of a channel to be excavated connecting Lake Amatovo with the Vardar River, and further channels to be dredged through the center of each lake, with subsidiary and network drains. It is estimated that 10,000 hectares of cultivable land will be reclaimed by this section of the work alone.

Another part of the project is the control by means of embankments, sluices, etc., of the turbulent rivers of this district; especially the Vardar. At the same time the vast Yenitze Swamp, between the Vardar and the Loudias, is to be drained. This will be accomplished by dredging out a central basin, into which all the small streams may be drained, and dredging a deep channel from this basin to the sea,

to carry off the flood waters. Lastly, the lower part of the Vardar River is to be returned to its old channel, abandoned fifteen years ago, when the river cut its present channel. The shifting course of the Vardar and the vast deposits of silt which it has brought down now constitute serious obstacles to navigation in adjacent waters and threaten the very existence of the neighboring harbor of Saloniki. Incidentally, though the fact is not mentioned in the article under review, the reclamation of this territory will probably relieve the city of Saloniki of its plague of malaria-bearing mosquitoes, which was one of the difficulties with which the Allied armies had to contend during the late war.

In addition to these strictly engineering activities, the company, in return for twenty-year concessionary privileges, proposes to build various warehouses for handling the products of the plain, to establish model agricultural and cattle breeding stations and a stud farm, and to encourage the production of beet root.

It is estimated that the entire Vardar, or Saloniki, drainage project will require five and one-half years' time, the removal of 31,000,000 yards of earth, and the employment of a daily average of 5,000 men. Its cost is estimated at \$26,750,000, to be covered by a tax-exempt bond issue protected by first mortgages on the land reclaimed (estimated at about 64,000 hectares, or approximately 160,000 acres). It is expected that taxes on the new land will meet the interest and amortization charges on the loan many times over, and that the proceeds from its sale will be used as an additional sinking fund to provide for the redemption of the bonds.

## What the Sailors Read

SOMEONE who knew what a place for homesickness a ship can be on a long voyage, and also believed ardently in adult education, was the originator of a week-end conference which has led to the establishment of ship's libraries on a great number of the long and short voyage steamers of the English merchant fleet.

Anne Bosworth Greene, best known for her writing on Vermont farm life, of which "Dipper Hill" is the most recent, visited several ships which had libraries for the literary entertainment and instruction of the crew, and the result is an enthusiastic article in the *Forum* (New York) for January.

The first ship's library was the hardest to establish, of course. But once the *Aeneas* of the Blue Funnel Line tried it out, the success was so marked and so instantaneous

that there are now libraries, paid for by the ship's owners and chosen by the originators of this library service, on a hundred ships. The libraries range in size, says Miss Greene, from fifty to perhaps three hundred books, depending on the size of the crew. They are chosen to be read, and any which is not drawn out repeatedly is replaced by one that will be. The libraries are one-third fiction and two-thirds educational, and on long-voyage ships their contents are changed after every trip.

The Organizing Secretary is a canny little Scotchman, from whom Miss Greene obtained much of her information. His chief problem is to decide on the right person to act as ship's librarian. It is hard to find a man with the leisure, taste, and sense of responsibility to fit him for the job.



It is almost invariably easy to get the sailors to read. On some ships—such as wandering oil tankers—where the men are bound on for eighteen months, or more, the type of man is low, and an awful dreariness soon settles over the crew. But the installation of a ship's library has amazing results. On one a deck-hand became so enthralled with the study of the Greek Period that he continued it ashore, for the Service follows up these men, and continues to give them any literary advice and aid it can.

A very complete analysis was made by one librarian on a long-voyage ship, showing the reading done by his shipmates. . . . "The chief engineer borrowed the largest number of books, forty-two volumes in all, his choice being mainly scientific works, or fiction, though he deviated into poetry and history the latter part of the voyage; while the chef was a great and catholic reader, devouring eighteen books of wildly varying sorts, from Well's 'Outline of History' to Dumas's 'The Vicomte de Bragelonne. . . .'"

On board one of the C. R. P. liners, for instance, a "wiper,"—one of those poor creatures, rather tattered, not even entitled to an A. B.'s uniform, who goes sloppily about with a bucket and cloth . . . during one voyage read:

Froude, "Life and Letters of Erasmus"; Kipling, "Captains Courageous"; Russell, "Selected Essays"; Hazlitt, "Table Talk"; Shakespeare, "Histories"; Tennyson, "Works"; Coleridge, "Works."

An incredible list! For he didn't start bravely in and then decline, but apparently kept right on.

Dumas, Jeffrey Farnol, W. W. Jacobs, and Mark Twain are very popular. Conrad seems to be a bit too psychological—he puzzles the good seamen a bit.

An Australian steamer reports an increase in three voyages from four hundred to nineteen hundred volumes used in one trip. The librarian of this ship declared that all that kept the men from reading even more was a lack of fiction. "You tell me that seamen are shriekin' to be educated," he said. "They're not. They want to be amused. Then after a while they get tired of it and come to me for something they want to know, a bit of history or science that what they've read has set them thinking about. . . ."

"Human beings are like sheep," said one night steward. One man says a book is good, and all the rest want it. Noticing this I put up lists saying that the following books were in greatest demand during the previous week, with the result that they were immediately rushed. As a matter of fact the lists put up were not popular books, but those which had been hanging fire, and should have been issued, but were not."

Miss Greene closes with one more list, this from a grubby little ship prowling the Scottish coast. The library contained fifty books. Of these Stork's "Confessions of a Tenderfoot" (non-fiction) was read thirteen times, as was Parry's "Spirit of the Old Folks." Thackeray's "Henry Esmond" and Lubbock's "China Clippers," twelve times, and the following eleven times: "The Fight With France for North America," Hyrst "Adventures in Arctic Regions," Kipling's "The Day's Work," Jacob's, "Deep Waters," and Hugo's "Toilers of the Sea."

## What's the Matter With the Navy?

A DISTINGUISHED officer, no less than Rear-Admiral William S. Sims, retired, makes at least a partial answer to this question in the January *World's Work*. Noting that the public has been greatly stirred by the recent fatal accidents in the service, Admiral Sims bemoans the fact that there seems to be no effective and persistent public interest in the affairs of the Navy. He thinks that if there were such an interest the plain evidence of fundamental defects which is presented would bring about needed reforms. From time to time these defects are pointed out by high naval authorities but nothing is done about them.

The fault in our naval administration which Admiral Sims regards as crucial is the

appointment to high command of men whom he characterizes as "uneducated and untrained in a military sense." Although a Naval War College has been established and is now maintained at a cost of more than \$100,000 a year for the special purpose of studying the art of war and working out fleet tactics and strategy, the Government often fails to avail itself of the practical training given by this institution when it appoints officers to key positions in the administration of the Navy. The reasons why it should be deemed essential that all men appointed to high command in the Navy should be graduates of the Naval War College are thus summarized by Admiral Sims:

*First*, the Naval War College is a thoroughly practical institution.

*Second*, the training the college provides is essential to the efficiency of the fleet and of the Navy as a whole.

*Third*, this essential training cannot be acquired in any place or in any way, outside of a war college, where officers can give their whole time and energy to it.

*Fourth*, it is physically impossible to acquire by service in the fleet the training necessary to handle successfully our entire naval forces in war.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* Admiral Sims comments on the recent serious accidents in the Navy. He points out that one of the primary necessities of preparation for war renders the Navy more liable to disastrous accidents than is the case in any of the industries. In training the personnel of a military force the essential requirement is the attainment of the maximum possible efficiency. This in itself requires the deliber-

ate assumption of grave risks. During the Roosevelt administration the effort to increase the Navy's efficiency in gunnery was attended by terrible accidents, but President Roosevelt issued an order specifying that all risks necessary to increase efficiency must be taken.

Admiral Sims makes it clear, however, that he attributes the loss of the *Shenandoah* to an unjustifiable risk—a risk "occasioned by wrong motives." At any rate, the motive was not preparation for war, and furthermore Admiral Sims maintains that the department violated the primary principle of command in deciding certain details of the equipment and handling of the *Shenandoah*, instead of relying upon the commander and his assistants, who were presumably selected because they were the most competent men in the service for this particular duty.

## The New Year in Magazinedom

THE beginning of another year in periodical publishing may serve as an occasion for noting a few recent changes among American magazines. In the case of the *Century*, for instance, the January issue was the first under the editorship of Mr. Hewitt H. Howland, who was for many years editor and literary adviser of the publishing firm of Bobbs-Merrill at Indianapolis. Both the January and February numbers of the *Century* give ample assurance that the management of this estimable and long-established magazine has fallen into good hands.

*McClure's Magazine*, after a brilliant youth, a period of decline, and a recent revival which gave much promise, has again ceased publication. The *Golden Book* has taken over its subscription list. Readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS may be interested in the fact that the *Golden Book's* circulation has already reached the 225,000 mark and is showing a healthy vitality. This magazine finds its contributors everywhere among those who have at any time created genuine entertainment for mankind, in the form of literary production. Mr. Henry W. Lanier is the editor on whom falls the responsibility for selecting from this wide range of material the contents of each number of the *Golden Book*.

The *Outlook*, so many years conducted by

Dr. Lyman Abbott, and since his death by his son, Mr. Ernest Hamlin Abbott, announces in its first January issue that Mr. Don C. Seitz, for many years associated with the *New York World*, has left that newspaper and will hereafter be a member of the *Outlook* staff as well as of its board of directors. A series of searching and informing articles from the pen of Mr. Seitz on the subject of the American press is now running in the *Outlook*. These will doubtless be followed by other contributions of equal interest.

There has been not a little comment of late concerning the marked change in the character of the contents and the editorial policy of several long-established popular magazines. Comparing current issues of *Harper's*, *Century*, the *Atlantic* and the *Forum*, with issues of the same periodicals under date of January, 1916, one would observe a marked tendency to publish trenchant articles of discussion, in place of the old type of essay, literary or historical criticism, or travel article. That comparative newcomer and very clever champion of radicalism, among the magazines, the *American Mercury*, edited by Mr. H. L. Mencken, having no traditions to throw overboard, continues on its way, a law unto itself. The *Mercury* has just completed its second year.

# THE NEW BOOKS

## Sport, Travel and Description

**The Mountains of Youth.** By Arnold Lunn. London: Oxford University Press. 192 pp. Ill.

The author of this book, a son of Sir Henry Lunn, is regarded in Europe as one of the leading mountaineers of his nationality and is perhaps the foremost expert on the sport of ski-ing. His earlier books have gone into the technique of this increasingly popular sport with more or less minuteness. But "The Mountains of Youth" has to do with the Alpine scene in general, with special reference to its peculiar charms for the mountaineer, both amateur and professional. Much has been written about the Alps (Mr. Lunn himself has made a notable collection of English prose and poetry relating to the subject) but certainly no recent book in our language seems more fully permeated with the very atmosphere of the Swiss mountains. From early boyhood Mr. Lunn has passed a great part of his life in the Alpine valleys. His earliest recollections go back to Grindelwald. He writes of that region with the spirit and affection of a native. To those of our readers who may have a special interest in the winter sports suggested in our article on page 197 we commend Mr. Lunn's chapters "In Praise of Ski-ing," "Four Days on Ski," and "The Eiger on the Ski."

**Florida in the Making.** By Frank Parker Stockbridge and John Holliday Perry. De Bower Publishing Company. 351 pp. Ill.

Readers of recent issues of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS do not need to be told of Mr. Stockbridge's intelligent and well-directed efforts to make known to the public the basic facts relating to

Florida's prosperity. His two articles, published in our May and November numbers, were widely read throughout the country and especially in Florida itself. The book which he has written in collaboration with Mr. John H. Perry gives the results of travel and persistent research during many months. It is a straightforward, readable account of what is to be seen in Florida to-day, by two experienced and keen-eyed observers. It describes every part of the State and every important interest, economic or social. It is addressed to the serious-minded American who really "wants to know" what is at the bottom of all this Florida excitement. The strongest possible endorsement of the work comes from Governor Martin, who contributes a foreword. In a letter to the publishers the Governor characterized "Florida in the Making" as "the most complete, accurate and valuable book about Florida which has ever been written."

**A Random Record of Travel during Fifty Years.** By William Dudley Foulke. Oxford University Press. 241 pp. Ill.

Mr. Foulke, who is perhaps best known for his activities in the Civil Service Reform Movement and as a personal and political friend of President Roosevelt, has been a persistent traveler during much of his life. This book gathers up recollections of journeys that he has made in this and other lands during the past fifty-five years. As might be expected, Mr. Foulke is less interested in mere descriptions of places and things than he is in the human element. National and personal traits encountered by the traveler in foreign lands interest him far more than natural scenery.

## Europe to Date

**America and Germany: 1918-1925.** By Sidney Brooks. With a preface by George Barr Baker. Macmillan. 191 pp.

This book is not so much a study of diplomatic relations between governments as of social and economic bonds between peoples. It is mainly an account of what was done in the dark days and months following the Armistice in efforts to rehabilitate Germany through American supplies of food and the wonderful work for the salvage of war orphans conducted under the direction of the American Relief Administration. Many of the facts presented in this record are new, we are sure, to great numbers of Americans whose interest in a better understanding between America and Germany will be stimulated by reading these chapters.

The story closes with a discussion of the Dawes plan and its probable effects and a forecast of future relations between the two peoples.

**The Ruhr-Lorraine Industrial Problem.** By Guy Greer. Macmillan. 328 pp.

For several years after the Armistice the author of this book was actively associated with the system of fuel distribution in Europe. He is thus enabled to study at close range the peculiar problems created by the new Franco-German frontier separating the Ruhr and Lorraine. His conclusion is that with the removal of political barriers the two principal elements of the Ruhr-Lorraine industrial system may be expected to become more closely welded together than ever before. "Even as the

coke of the Ruhr and the iron ore of Lorraine have been a source of conflict in the past, they might become the common basis for renewed prosperity and genuine peace."

**A Diplomat Looks at Europe.** By Richard Washburn Child. Duffield and Company. 301 pp.

Our former Ambassador to Italy here relates some of his experiences as American representative at the Conferences of Genoa and Lausanne, gives interesting accounts of several confidential talks with Mussolini, and draws pen portraits of such personages as the King of Italy, Chicherin of Russia, Ismet Pasha of Turkey, Poincaré of France, and various others. As a journalist, Mr. Child has developed certain rather definite views as to the methods by which American diplomacy should be conducted.

**Post-War Britain—a French Analysis** by André Siegfried. Translated from the French by H. H. Hemming. E. P. Dutton Company. 314 pp.

It is unusual for a Frenchman to study the institutions of a foreign country at first hand and

publish what he has learned for the benefit of his own countrymen. This, however, is the course pursued by M. Siegfried in relation to England. His analysis of England's economic situation since the war was addressed to the French people and it was not the author's original intention to have it translated. Such a book, however, in great part meets the demand for an impartial survey by an outsider free from personal prejudices. The book contains an astonishing amount of useful information concerning the British political system as well as social and economic conditions.

**The Industrial Museum.** By Charles R. Richards. Macmillan. 117 pp.

A description of the four great European industrial museums in London, Paris, Munich and Vienna. The immediate purpose in giving this information to the American public is to urge the establishment of similar museums in America. The author discusses a typical plan for an industrial museum which shall have the maximum educational value. The book is illustrated with unusually clear photographs.

## History, Chiefly Modern

**Personalities and Reminiscences of the War.** By Robert Lee Bullard. Doubleday, Page & Company. 347 pp.

Every American will wish to read the narrative of the man who commanded the first American division to go into the line in France and who led the victorious army that was headed for Metz when the Armistice was signed. Without attempting to give a fact record of American military operations in France, General Bullard admits the reader to his personal confidence and relates directly and without qualification his memories of what took place in those eventful months and his own reactions and beliefs at the time. General Bullard is always outspoken. One gets the impression that he deemed the occurrences that he describes altogether too important to admit of any toning down of the narrative for the sake of sparing somebody's feelings. At the same time he is free to bestow praise wherever he thinks it deserved.

**Letters from America, 1776-1779.** Translated by R. W. Pettengill, Ph. D. Houghton Mifflin Co., 281 pp.

"Letters from America" is an interesting collection of epistles from Brunswick, Hessian, and Waldeck officers serving with the British forces in the Revolutionary War. The translator has based his work upon a set of Schloezer's "Briefwechsel," of which an incomplete translation was made by William Leete Stone in 1891. The new volume is handled in a thoroughly workmanlike manner by Dr. Pettengill, and the letters are supplemented by a scholarly introduction, an appendix, and an index. The letters themselves, clearly and intelligently translated, are a delight to anyone interested in our country's early history. The reader seldom meets with Revolutionary history presented from the British angle, but to have the obscure Hessian viewpoint is a unique experience. These "despi-

cable hirelings" turn out to be remarkably likable chaps upon closer acquaintance—scholarly, agreeable, and highly religious. They evince no particular prejudice against things "rebel," and their observations are now shrewd, now naive. Many interesting details of the conflict are brought to light, and the American country, customs, and civilization of that day are fully recounted for the edification of the modern. The date lines range from Canada, where most of the Germans were landed, to Pensacola, in what was then West Florida, where some of the mercenaries were stationed against the Spaniards, allies of the Americans in the war. Although only 30,000 German troops were dispatched to this country, some of them saw service in practically every section of the extensive battleground.

**The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest.** By Louise Phelps Kellogg. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 474 pp. Ill.

This study of French activities in North America has for its point of departure the region which we now know as the Middle West rather than the Valley of the St. Lawrence. In this respect it differs from most of the published works dealing with French colonization in America. Miss Kellogg relates, first, the approach of the French to the West, then the occupation and economic development of the country that they found, then its external relations with other parts of New France and, finally, its share in the downfall of French power in America. Consulting the sources anew, Miss Kellogg has proceeded to write an entirely new account of the French régime in this central and strategic region. Nearly one-half of her book is devoted to the Eighteenth Century, during which the French in Wisconsin were more active than at any other time. This volume is another evidence of the scholarly and important work carried on by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.



**The Jesuit Martyrs of North America.** By John J. Wynne, S. J. The Universal Knowledge Foundation. 246 pp. Ill.

The revived interest in the heroism of the Jesuit Fathers who suffered martyrdom in their efforts to Christianize the American Indians in the seventeenth century is abundant justification for Father Wynne's narrative of the adventures of these martyrs. The task of weaving together the stories of all these devoted missionaries has been performed with rare intelligence and enthusiasm.

**Battles by Sea.** By E. Keble Chatterton. Macmillan. 271 pp. Ill.

The author traces the development of sea-fighting through the galley age, the sailing-ship age and the present era of steamships. By selecting twelve of the most interesting sea battles of history, the author seeks to point out what he terms the connecting principles of sea-fighting.

**A Short History of American Railways: Covering Ten Decades.** By Slason Thompson. D. Appleton Company. 473 pp. Ill.

Nearly one hundred years of railroad history are condensed in this book of less than five hundred pages. The story of our railroads is one of the most fascinating chapters of American history. It has never received from historians the attention which its importance seems to demand. Mr. Thompson's book is necessarily sketchy, but readable and informing throughout. There are 400 interesting illustrations.

**History of Russia.** By S. F. Platonov. Translated by E. Aronsberg. Edited by F. A. Golder. Macmillan. 435 pp. Ill.

A translation and abridgment of a standard Russian history edited and supervised by Professor Golder, of Stanford University, who says of Professor Platonov's qualifications as an interpreter of the Russian people: "He was born in a cottage, he gave lessons in mansions, and tutored in palaces."

**An Economic History of Russia.** By James Mavor. E. P. Dutton Company. Vol. I: 614 pp. Vol. II: 630 pp.

This is almost the only work in its field, in the English language, which has been widely studied and read in America and England. The first edition, appearing just before the outbreak of the World War, was quickly exhausted. It was warmly commended by leading Russian authorities. The important features of the first volume are the explanation of the origin of serfdom, a detailed account of the reforms of Peter the Great and the story of Russia's rise as an industrial country in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The second volume is in the main a history of the revolutionary movement in Russia. This, however, practically ends in 1914. It was not found practicable in the new edition to give a detailed account of what has happened in the past ten years, although a chapter has been added upon certain aspects of the Soviet Revolution. The author was unable to bring his account down to date, but he availed himself of many suggestions made by Russian scholars in correcting the original work.

## Biography

**Jesus of Nazareth: His Life, Times, and Teaching.** By Joseph Klausner. Translated from the original Hebrew by Herbert Danby. Macmillan. 434 pp.

This book, originally written for Hebrew readers by a leading Jewish historian, treats of the person and times of Jesus in the light of the author's specialized knowledge of his Jewish environment during his earthly life. He tries to show to what extent Jesus was a product of his age and what was his contribution to Judaism. In doing this he has made full use of Talmudic and Rabbinical sources. The author declares that one purpose in writing his book was to "give Hebrew readers a true idea of the historic Jesus, an idea which shall be alike as independent of Christian as of Jewish dogma, which shall be objective and scientific in every possible way." Christian readers, while dissenting from many of the positions taken by the author, will nevertheless find in his book material for the better understanding of the Jewish mental and historical environment during the lifetime of Christ. This is the work on which Rabbi Wise of New York largely based his Christmas-time sermon on "A Jewish View of Jesus." The author does not seek to show the superiority of Christianity to Judaism nor the superiority of Judaism to Christianity, but simply how Judaism differs and remains distinct from Christianity or Christianity from Judaism.

**Howard Pyle: a Chronicle.** By Charles D. Abbott. With an introduction by N. C. Wyeth and many illustrations from Howard Pyle's works. Harper & Brothers. 249 pp. Ill.

Howard Pyle in his time was an inspiring teacher of artists and to the country he is even better known as an illustrator with a smile and charm of his own. In this intimate biography Mr. Abbott has drawn freely from Howard Pyle's letters. Especially interesting are those passages which reveal some of the artist's methods in depicting scenes from our colonial and revolutionary history.

**Israel, Elihu, and Cadwallader Washburn: a Chapter in American Biography.** Compiled by Gaillard Hunt. Macmillan. 397 pp.

It was once said that every male child born into the famous Washburn family of Maine was indelibly marked on some part of his body with the magic initials "M. C." The careers of five brothers from that family serve to show how natural it was that such a tale should have gained currency. For four of those brothers actually became representatives in Congress, one a United States Senator, two governors of States, one a Major-General in the Civil War, and two ministers in our diplomatic service. Three of the brothers—Israel, Elihu and

Cadwallader—served in Congress at the same time, representing districts in the States of Maine, Illinois and Wisconsin. This circumstance in itself is said to be without parallel in our history. The present volume, which is indeed a unique chapter in American biography, is confined to the careers of the three contemporaneous Congressmen whom we have named. Of these three, the eldest, Israel, attained his chief distinction as War Governor of Maine, while Elihu B. was our Minister to France during and after the Franco-Prussian War, and Cadwallader C., after notable service in the Civil War, was elected Governor of Wisconsin, the State of his adoption. An editorial note informs us of the very regrettable fact that a manuscript sketch of the

youngest brother, William D., of Minnesota, has been lost. This brother, who was by eighteen years the junior of the Governor of Maine, was a great force in the early development of what was then the Northwest. He was interested in flour mills, lumber, and in railroad building. He served in the House of Representatives for three terms and in the United States Senate for six years. It is to be hoped that a later edition of this valuable family biography may contain a sketch of William D. Washburn's career, and that the entire volume may be indexed. The letters and diaries which have been freely drawn upon in the preparation of this book throw much light on the Republican party politics of the twenty years after Lincoln's election.

## The Rising Generation

**Creative Youth.** Edited by Hughes Mearns, with a foreword by Dr. Otis W. Caldwell. Doubleday. 234 pp.

The Lincoln School of New York City is already famous in educational circles and among parents for its many valuable contributions to the field of primary and secondary school education. No more valuable publication has resulted from its experiments in investigating and freeing the creative imagination of children than this latest volume of children's poetry, edited with an introductory essay by Mr. Mearns.

For five years Mr. Mearns was head of the English department at the school and prime mover in the work which has resulted in this amazing volume. The book contains a hundred poems of a quality which has commanded the attention of leading poets and critics, and has brought unusual recognition to the school magazine, *Lincoln Lore*, in which the poems appeared from month to month.

Aside from these startlingly fresh, free, and lovely verses which do much to make credible such poets as Nathalia Crane and Hilda Conkling, Mr. Mearns' introductory essay on the way in which he got the children to write is fascinating reading. Starting with the belief that provocation and encouragement

alone were necessary, his untiring services as inspiring, frank and yet tactful adviser have been amply rewarded by the contents of this volume.

**The Revolt of Modern Youth.** By Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Wainwright Evans. Boni & Liveright. 364 pp.

Judge Lindsey, who in the past twenty-five years has made the Denver Juvenile Court famous the world around, reveals in this book some startling facts and situations in American social life as they have presented themselves to him in the courtroom. Judge Lindsey calls Denver his laboratory, but he believes that the conditions that he portrays are common to practically every city and town in the United States. Although many of these stories are sensational, Judge Lindsey does not exploit them for sensational purposes. He believes that the good of society demands that the point of view of modern youth should be fully understood by the older generation. The young people of Denver seem to have preferred as a confidant Judge Lindsey rather than their own parents, guardians or teachers. This being the case, Judge Lindsey believes that he is fulfilling a duty to the public in making these disclosures known.

## Other Timely Books

**Two Reports on the Reorganization and Reconstruction of the New York City Prison System.** By Hastings H. Hart. The Prison Association of New York. 53 pp.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart, of the Sage Foundation has been active for more than a quarter of a century in the service of dependent and defective children. He entered that field when there were few trained workers giving their time to that particular form of philanthropic effort. At the present time there are many, while in the departments of penology and delinquency the number of trained officers and cooperating volunteers is still relatively small. Dr. Hart has therefore determined to spend the rest of his working days in efforts to improve methods of dealing with delinquency, both juvenile and adult. Among the first fruits of his new labors are two

admirable reports on the reconstruction of the New York City prison system. This is a subject which Dr. Hart's long experience qualifies him to discuss with special pertinence.

**The Tragedy of Waste.** By Stuart Chase. Macmillan. 296 pp.

In this book Mr. Chase gives many startling instances of waste through the four great channels to which our present industrial system is tributary. These are: (1) the supplying of vicious and useless goods and services; (2) the idleness of our man power, much of which is preventable; (3) the excessive man power used because of failure to utilize the technical arts, and (4) the enormous waste of natural resources. Mr. Chase is content to exhibit the facts of this serious situation, leaving it to others to propose a way out.